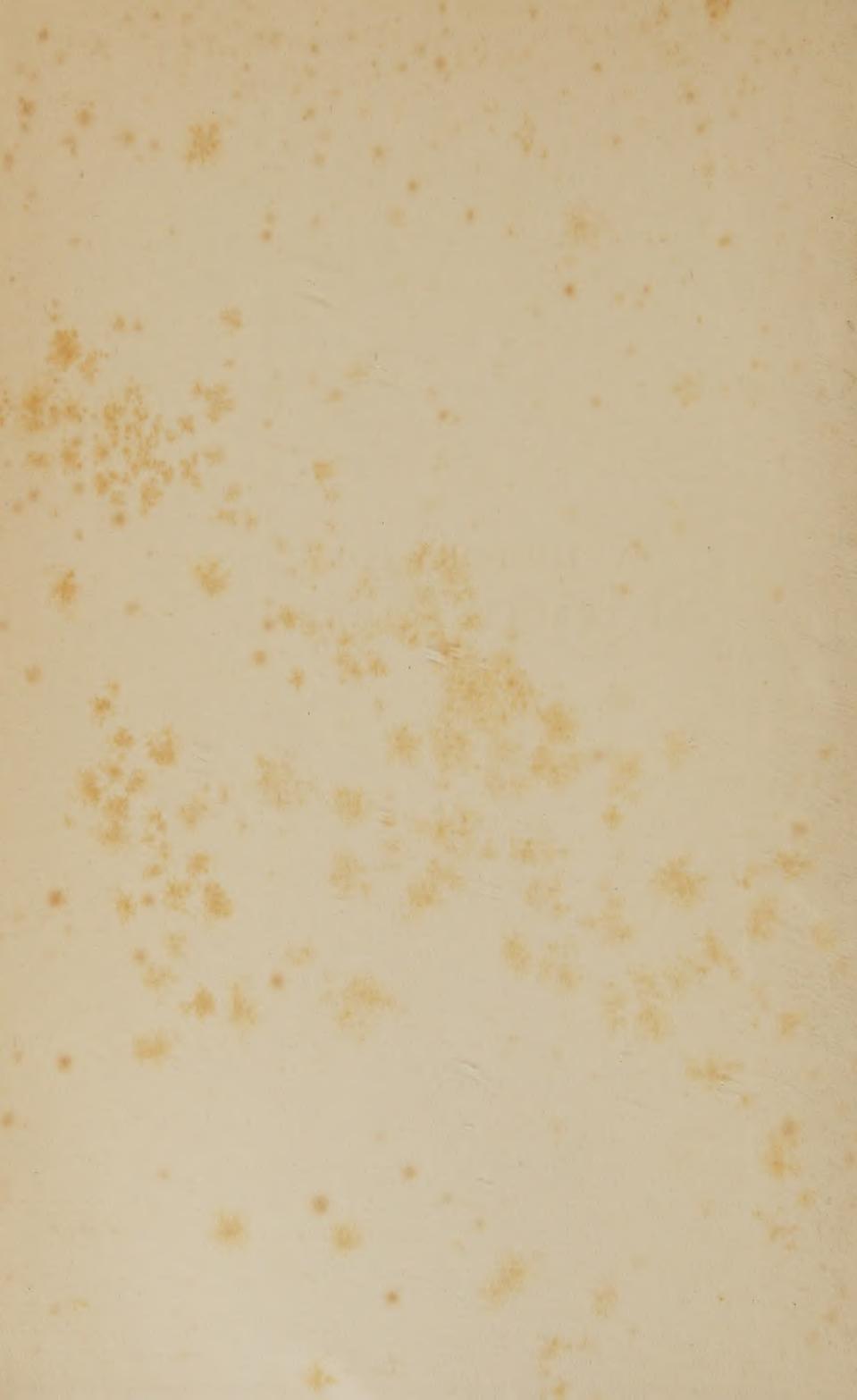




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A HISTORY OF
ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

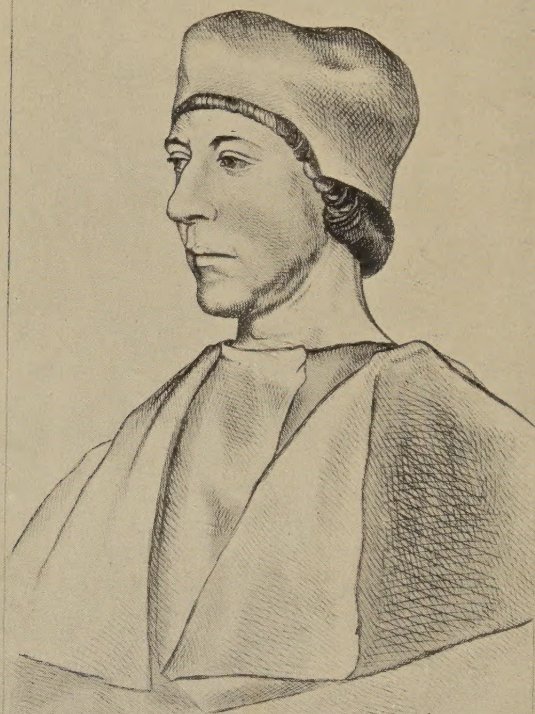
ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL
HISTORY OF



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Εὐλογία Κυρίου ἐπὶ κεφαλῇ δικαίου.



IOANNES COLETVS. S.T.P.
SCHOLAE PAVLINAE FVNDATOR.

H. Holbein del.]

[R. Harris sc.]

JOHN COLET, D.D., DEAN OF ST. PAUL'S

Founder of St. Paul's School

[Frontispiece.]

A HISTORY OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

BY

MICHAEL F. J. McDONNELL

OF THE INNER TEMPLE, BARRISTER-AT-LAW, SOMETIME SCHOLAR OF
ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

WITH FORTY-EIGHT PORTRAITS AND OTHER ILLUSTRATIONS

LONDON

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1909

A HISTORY OF
ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

RICHARD CLAY & SONS, LIMITED,
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1895

TO
FREDERICK WILLIAM WALKER
THE GREATEST OF THE SUCCESSORS OF WILLIAM LILY
THIS BOOK IS, BY PERMISSION,
DEDICATED AS A SMALL TRIBUTE OF GRATITUDE
BY HIS PUPIL
THE AUTHOR

PREFACE

THE hesitation which I feel in submitting this, the first history of St. Paul's School which has ever been written, to the consideration of the public, and more especially of Old Paulines, would be far greater were it not for the help and advice which I have received from the high master. Dr. Hillard read a portion of the MS. at a very early stage, and I doubt if I should have completed it but for the encouragement which he gave me.

I owe many acknowledgments to the researches of the late Dr. Lupton, and if on some questions of fact I show in these pages that I differ from the conclusions at which he arrived, I do so with all deference to a distinguished scholar.

My thanks are also due to the surmaster, the Rev. R. B. Gardiner, from whose Registers of the school much of my information has necessarily been derived. I must also acknowledge his kindness in lending me many MS. notes, including a short outline of the history of the school.

To the Rev. R. J. Walker I am indebted for the loan of an ancient MS. volume, but more than this, I must tender him my thanks for constant help from the vast store of information concerning the school which he possesses.

Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., to whom I presented myself as a complete stranger, not merely allowed me free access to his enormous and valuable collection of MSS., but

with remarkable generosity allowed me to keep in my possession, for several weeks, many of the most important of the Postlethwayt letters. I have gladly availed myself of the kind offer of Mr. R. C. Seaton, an assistant master in the school, to revise the manuscript of Chapter XXII, and I must also acknowledge the courtesy of Colonel Montague Clementi, O.P., in sending me a number of documents bearing on the same subject.

My thanks and those of my readers are due to Mr. C. M. Thomas, an assistant master in the school, for the labour and care which he has devoted to the task of photographing the portraits in the Great Hall, with a view to reproduction in this volume. Mr. Harris, the art master, has been kind enough to allow me to reproduce three of his drawings. Mr. P. Holden, the assistant art master, has allowed me to reproduce his drawing of the interior of the third school, and Mr. Birch, O.P., has given me leave to reproduce his photograph of the present school building. I have further to acknowledge assistance received from the Master of Christ's College, Cambridge, Mr. Laurence Binyon, O.P., Professor Lethaby, and the authorities at the school; in particular, Mr. Bewsher, the bursar, and Mr. John Lupton, O.P., the librarian of the boys' library.

Finally, I have received help from the librarians of St. Paul's Cathedral, Lambeth Palace, the Guildhall, and Sion College. The portrait of Lord Truro is reproduced by permission of Mr. Emery Walker, and that of the late high master by permission of Messrs. Russell of Baker Street.

*Lamb Building, Temple,
August 1909.*

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A HISTORY OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

CHAPTER I

THE ANCIENT SCHOOL OF ST. PAUL'S

THERE can be no doubt that a school existed from very early times under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral. Papal injunctions as early as the eighth century required that every conventual church should have a school adjoining it, and under its immediate care and control. Hence arose the ancient proverb, "Wherever there is a monastery there is a school."

The decree of the Eleventh General Council of the Lateran, held in 1179, which provides that "in every Cathedral Church a master ought to teach poor scholars as has been accustomed," and the further order that "the like also should be restored in other Churches and Monasteries, if in times past any such have belonged to them, and have been taken away," clearly indicates the antiquity of many cathedral schools.

The first reference which is known to be extant concerning the school attached to the Cathedral of St. Paul in London is to be found among the Harleian MSS. It occurs in a charter¹ by which Richard de Belmeis or Beaumes,

¹ Harl. MSS., No. 6956.

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Bishop of London *circa* 1112, granted to Hugh, the school-master, and his successors the habitation of one Durandus, at the corner of the turret or bell-tower, where William, Dean of St. Paul's, had placed him by the bishop's command, together with the custody of the library belonging to the cathedral.

The appointment is still extant¹ by which, *circa* 1120, there was granted to Canon Henry, a pupil of Canon Hugh, "St. Paul's School as honourably as the church ever held it at its best and most honourable estate," and at the same time Bishop Richard made the school-master a further grant, in addition to the residence beside the bell-tower, of a meadow at Fulham, together with the tithes of Ealing and Madeley. Henry of Blois, Bishop of Winchester, brother and counsellor of King Stephen, while acting as ordinary of London, *sede vacante*, in 1137 or 1138, issued a mandate directing that no one should presume to teach school in London without a licence from Henry, who at that time was still master of the school at St. Paul's. Disregard of this order was to be punished after three warnings by excommunication.

An exception was made in favour of the masters of St. Mary le Bow and St. Martin le Grand. The reason for the exemption of St. Mary "of the Arches" is to be found in the fact that it was a "peculiar" of the Archbishop of Canterbury, while St. Martin le Grand owed its immunity from control to the fact that it was an ancient collegiate church of Early English origin, a "royal free chapel," which was outside the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, and enjoyed privileges almost as numerous as those of St. Paul's itself.

The power of licensing school-masters in the city of London possessed by the master of St. Paul's, as the Chancellor's deputy, gives point to the title, "Magister

¹ Dugdale, *St. Paul's*, pp. 9-10.

scholarum in tota civitate London," differing from the plain "Magister scholarum" applied in other cathedrals to the Chancellor, who was also the scribe or secretary of the Dean and Chapter.

Johanne de Cantuar, who was Chancellor of St. Paul's when Alard, who died in 1216, was Dean, appears to have been the first Magister scholarum who bore the title of Chancellor in London.¹

Until about that date the state of affairs appears to have corresponded with that set out in the ancient Latin record of the duties of the officers attached to the cathedral, which was printed by Sir William Dugdale, and which states that—

"The Chancellor is head over the learning, not only of the Church, but also of the whole city. All grammar masters are under his authority. He sets over Paul's School a suitable master, after first presenting him to the Dean and Chapter, and he repairs the buildings of that school at his own expense."

William Fitzstephen, in his *Descriptio Nobilissimae Civitatis Londoniae*, written about 1174, says that "the three principal churches in London are privileged by grant and ancient usage with schools, and they are all very flourishing," and the same writer further relates how on feasts of the Church the masters and scholars of these schools after attending mass held disputations.

"The boys of different schools wrangle with each other in verse, contending about the principles of grammar, or the rules of preterites and supines. Others in epigrams, rhymes and metres use the old street gags, attacking their school-masters, but without mentioning names, with Fescennine licence, and, discharging their caustic sarcasm, touch the foibles of their school-fellows with true Socratic wit or else biting them with the sharp tooth of Theon. The audience,

¹ Newcourt, *Repertorium*, 1708, vol. i. p. 111.

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fully disposed to laugh, with wrinkled noses redouble their shrill guffaws."

The termination of this passage, which is a quotation from *Persius*,¹ is interesting in view of what is frequently said as to the teaching in the old grammar schools.

Fitzstephen, who after being Dean of Arches became Judge of the King's Court, writing of St. Paul's as the school of the city par excellence (*scole urbis*) states that Thomas à Becket, the martyred St. Thomas of Canterbury, was educated there before he proceeded to the University of Paris.

The next reference to this school in point of time, which is known to be extant, occurs towards the end of the twelfth century in a record which states that "Richard, sur-named Nigel, who sat Bishop here in King Richard I's time, gave unto this school all the tithes arising in his demesnes at Fulham and Orsett, for the receipts of them in gathering." ²

Shortly after this date Radulphus de Seleham gave lands in Lodesword to the Magister scholarum of the Church of St. Paul. About the beginning of the thirteenth century, as we have seen, this title became lost in that of Chancellor, and Henry de Cornhull, who held that post in 1217, by his will left his house on the south side of St. Paul's Churchyard to his successors for ever on payment of one mark on each anniversary of his death.

Nothing is known of the history of the school for nearly a century after this, but in 1308 Ralph de Baldock confirmed the tithes of Ealing, which nearly two hundred years before had been granted to the Chancellor of the cathedral, on condition that that official should, either in person or by deputy, read a lecture in divinity.

¹ *Pers.* III. 87.

² Newcourt, vol. i. p. 307 ; vol. ii., p. 454.

It has been suggested that Chaucer was educated at the cathedral grammar school. There is no evidence in support of the surmise, but if it is correct he must have entered the school less than a quarter of a century after the confirmation of this grant.

Dr. Lupton¹ called attention to a document preserved among the Harleian MSS. which he supposed had reference to this school. The manuscript is a will made in the early part of the reign of Edward III by William de Tolleshunte, almoner of St. Paul's, who died in 1320, by which he bequeathed for the use of the boys living and studying in the almonry a library of books which included all the main subjects of academic teaching.

The fact that the bequest in this case was left to the almonry shows that it had no reference to the cathedral grammar school under the control of the Chancellor. It was left for the benefit of the choristers who were under the independent care of the almoner, whose singing school, according to the statutes of Baldock and Lisieux, was held in the Church of St. Gregory, closely adjoining the cathedral.²

In 1393 a petition was presented to the King in Parliament by the Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishop of London, the Dean of St. Martin le Grand, and the Chancellor of St. Paul's, having for its purpose the assertion of the privileges of the three old schools which extended to the suburbs as well as to the city, and the desire to put down "certain strangers feigning themselves masters of grammar, not sufficiently learned in that faculty, who against law and custom hold general schools of grammar in deceit and fraud of children, to the great prejudice of your lieges and of the jurisdiction of Holy Church."

¹ *Life of Colet*, p. 155.

² W. Sparrow Simpson, *Registrum Statutorum*, p. 22.

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A Bill to set up other schools in London, which we may suppose was a counterblast to this petition, was rejected by Parliament in the following year.

The first known addition to the schools of the city was made before 1420, when we find a grammar school master at St. Michael's, Cornhill, receiving a royal ward as pupil. In 1442 St. Anthony's School, in Threadneedle Street, was founded under royal auspices, with exhibitions to Oriel, its head master receiving the same salary and emoluments as the head master of Eton, which was founded two years earlier.

It was probably not owing to the foundation of St. Michael's and St. Anthony's, but to other encroachments on their ancient privileges that in 1447 the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Bishop of London had to repeat their complaint that "many and divers persons not adequately learned in the art of grammar have presumed to keep common grammar schools in the city, thereby wickedly defrauding some boys and their friends who maintain them at school." For this reason they ordered that "There shall be five grammar schools and no more in the said city, namely one in St. Paul's Churchyard, another in the Church of St. Martin le Grand, a third in the Church of Blessed Mary of the Arches, a fourth in the Church of St. Dunstan's in the East, and a fifth in St. Anthony's Hospital."¹

In spite of this order, in answer to a petition presented by certain parochial priests to the Commons in Parliament in the same year, four more grammar schools were established in the parishes of All Hallows the Greater, St. Andrew's, Holborn, St. Peter's, Cornhill, and St. Mary, Colechurch.²

¹ Strype, vol. i. p. 182.

² Wilkinson, *Londina Illustrata*, p. 3.

The only other references to the cathedral grammar school which are known to occur in the fifteenth century are to be found in the mention of one James Garnon, "Magister scholarum S. Pauli, London," who obtained a licence to proceed Master in Grammar at Oxford in 1449, while it is recorded in Hall's *Chronicle* how "one that was scholmayster at Paules" was present at the proclamation of Richard III concerning the death of Lord Hastings in 1483.¹

Before dealing with the vexed question as to the continuity of Colet's school with the ancient grammar school of St. Paul's, it is fitting that we should briefly recall the history of the man whom St. Paul's School has always looked upon as its founder. John Colet was the son of Sir Henry Colet, a Buckinghamshire gentleman, and free-man of the Mercers' Company, who was Lord Mayor of London in 1486 and 1495, and was knighted on the marriage of Henry VII with Elizabeth of York. Sir Henry's wife, "good Dame Christian," as she was called, was the daughter of Sir John Knevet, who was sheriff of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, and was closely connected by marriage with the Duke of Buckingham. Erasmus, who was on terms of close intimacy with Dame Christian Colet, describes her as "insigni probitate mulier," and in a letter written by her son three years before his death, from his mother's house in Stepney, the Dean speaks of her as one "who still lives in a charming old age, often making cheerful and pleasant mention" of the Dutch scholar.

Eleven sons and eleven daughters were the fruits of the union of Sir Henry with this lady, but of these the eldest son alone grew up to manhood.

John Colet was sent to school either to St. Anthony's,

¹ Boase, *Reg. of the Univ.*, vol. i. p. 3.

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Threadneedle Street, where More was educated, or to St. Thomas of Acons, the school which at a later date acquired a close connection with the Mercers' Company. Equal doubt attaches to the question of the college at Oxford to which Colet proceeded. The tradition which places him among the alumni of William of Wayneflete's recently founded college of St. Mary Magdalen rests chiefly on Anthony à Wood's statement that, in 1483, the year in which he went to the University, one or more of his surname were members of that foundation. It is, however, remarkable that his name is not to be found in any of the registers of the college which are extant.

There is no confirmation of the statement that he also studied at Cambridge. Nothing is known of his undergraduate days at Oxford, where he remained seven years. After this, as Erasmus recounts, "like a merchant seeking goodly wares, he visited France and then Italy." Of his foreign tour, which lasted about three years, little is known for certain, with the exception of the fact that Orleans and Paris were two of the cities which he visited in the course of his travels.

The familiarity shown in his writings with the works of Marsilio Ficino and of Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, the disciples of Savonarola, makes it appear very probable that he visited Florence at the time when the great Dominican friar was at the height of his influence and reputation.

On his return from the Continent, Colet proceeded to the degree of Doctor of Divinity, and shortly afterwards began to give public lectures at Oxford on theological subjects.

The manuscripts of these lectures, by a strange accident, are preserved, not in his own University, but in the libraries of Emmanuel and Corpus Christi Colleges and of the University at Cambridge. There is a note in



[Engraved in Knight's "Life of Colet."]

JOHN COLET IN THE DEANERY AT ST. PAUL'S, KNEELING AT THE
FEET OF AN EVANGELIST

From MS. D.d. 73, in the Cambridge University Library

[To face p. 8.]

the writing of Bishop Tunstall appended to one of Colet's MSS. at Corpus which may well make Paulines blush for the carelessness of their predecessors. It runs, "Super-sunt multa ab eodem Joanne Colet scripta in D. Paulum, sed puerorum incuria perierunt."

In many of the points which the lecturer made, it is interesting to trace opinions similar to those expanded by his friend Sir Thomas More, in the *Utopia*. The principle of a community of property on which the Utopian republic rests, the preference of the most disadvantageous peace to the most just war, the Lord Chancellor's denunciation of the manner in which those who administered the laws punished people for their ignorance of that which they themselves should have taught them, are all points in which More preached exactly what Colet had some years earlier said at Oxford.

In 1498, Colet made the acquaintance of Erasmus, to whom he was introduced by Richard Charnock, the prior of the Augustinian canons, with whom the Dutch scholar was staying. The friends saw much of each other in the interval which elapsed before the first month of 1500, in which Erasmus left Oxford for the Continent.

During these years at Oxford, Colet held various benefices, notably the vicarage of Stepney. This he resigned in 1505, the year of his father's death, and shortly after his appointment to the Deanery of St. Paul's, in which he succeeded Robert Sherborne, who was promoted to the see of St. David's on the occasion of his embassy to Rome to congratulate Pius III on his election to the Pontificate.

The commanding personality of John Colet, which made him, although not the most scholarly of the group, stand out as the central figure among the English humanists, has led various writers to make *ex parte* state-

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ments concerning his religious views, and his alleged influence on the Reformation in England.

This is not the place in which to enter upon a discussion of the religious views of a man whom Milman called the "greatest of the Deans of St. Paul's," but it must be remembered that he was the spiritual director of Sir Thomas More, a martyr who ranks among the *Beati* of the Catholic Church.

The statements so freely made concerning Colet's contempt for the inmates of monasteries and religious houses are unworthy of attention in view of the Dean's intimacy with John Sowle, the Carmelite of Whitefriars, Jehan Vitrier, the Franciscan of St. Omer, and Richard Charnock, the Oxford Augustinian ; while the fact that he chose the monastery of the Carthusians at Sheen as the place in which to retire to die finally disposes of the suggestion.

Dr. Lupton¹ evidently viewed with suspicion the uncorroborated statement of Tyndale that Fitzjames, the Bishop of London, would have fain prosecuted Colet for translating the Paternoster into English. The absurdity of the charges of heresy which, according to Erasmus, were brought against him by the Bishop, is obvious, not only from the fact that they were dismissed by Archbishop Warham, but also when it is remembered that the main accusation against Colet was that he taught that devotion should not be paid to images.

In the place of honour in the school which he built, Colet placed an image of the Christ Child, to whom, with his Blessed Mother, he dedicated the foundation ; and it is hard to believe that the chantry chapel which he endowed in the school, and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin and St. John the Evangelist, contained no presentments of its patron saints.

¹ Lupton, *Colet*, p. 202.

Whether this was the case or not, the dedication both of the school and of its chapel, and the inclusion in the Catechysion of the Ave Maria and another prayer to Our Lady, as well as the precept "Worship Chryst Jesu and his moder Mary," are all facts which completely dispose of Dr. Kynaston's approving comment on "the absence of all mariolatry from the religious exercises and statutes appointed by Colet."¹

Bishop Hugh Latimer² recalled the charges against Colet in a sermon preached many years afterwards, and distorted the facts when he said that "he should have been burnt if God had not turned the King's heart to the contrary." Colet, had he lived, could have had little sympathy with Latimer, who forwarded to London the figure of Our Lady, which he had thrust out of his cathedral church at Worcester, with the rough words of scorn that "She, with her old sister of Walsingham, her younger sister of Ipswich, and their two other sisters of Doncaster and Penrice, would make a jolly muster at Smithfield when they were burnt."

A letter written by Sir Thomas More³ to an anonymous monk in 1520 contains a defence of Erasmus against an imputation of heresy, and says that his orthodoxy is proved by his intimacy with Colet, Fisher, Warham, Mountjoy, Tunstall, Pace and Grocyn. The stress laid by More on Colet's position in this matter is very significant, and it is hard to say otherwise than that the Lutheran Reformation, had he lived, would have found him, not on the side of Latimer and Ridley, but on that of Fisher and More.

No trace of sympathy with any aspect of the Reformation is to be found in the lives of either of the two first

¹ Kynaston, *The Number of the Fish*.

² *Latimer's Sermons*, Parker Soc. 440.

³ Brewer, *Letters and Papers, Hen. VIII*, vol. iii., pt. i, No. 567.

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high masters of the school, of whom the second was appointed to the surmastership by Colet himself.

Lily's son became the right-hand man of Cardinal Pole. The high master was himself on terms of intimacy with William Horman, Vice-Provost of Eton, who presented various relics of Christ and the saints to the college chapel. Both Lily and Ritwise identified themselves with Horman by prefixing epigrams to his school-book entitled *Vulgaria*, which is full of references to the Blessed Virgin, such as the sentences, "The holynes of Our Lady pulled God out of heaven," and "Our Lady's ymage ought to stande gylte in a tabernacle upon a base of marble."

William Lily¹ was also himself the author of verses, *De laudibus deiparae Virginis*; and the play by Ritwise, of which we have some account, was all in the interests of allegiance to the Holy See, "the heretic Luther" being held up to special reprobation.

¹ *Pitzaeus de Angliae Scriptoribus*, p. 697.

CHAPTER II

THE FOUNDATION OF THE NEW SCHOOL

WE are able to follow in some detail the various legal steps taken by Colet in founding his school.

The first mention of the school in the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company occurs on April 9, 1510,¹ where "it was shown by Master Thomas Baldry, Mercer, that Master Dr. Colet, Dean of Paul's, had desired him to show unto the company that he is disposed for the foundation of his school to mortify certain lands which he holds that the company should have, if they would be bound to maintain the said school according to the foundation." One of the wardens and the above-named member of the company were put into communication with the Dean, and on April 16 they reported that "the said Master Dean was very glad that he might have with us communication thereof in whom he proposeth to put all the rule and governance of the said school."

That the school was in existence before this date is to be seen from the fact that there is extant an indenture,² dated July 1, 1 Henry VIII, 1509, whereby Colet and the Mercers' Company grant to one William Gerge, his heirs and assigns, a certain manor in the County of Hertford, on condition that

¹ Minutes of Evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Lords on Public Schools Bill, 1865, p. 10.

² Appendix to Third Report of Commissioners on Charities, 1820, p. 164.

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the grantee, his heirs and assigns, should pay to the company for ever £8 for the use of the school.

In the early part of the following year, Colet, being anxious to secure a licence under which the Mercers could acquire lands in mortmain, presented a *Supplicatio ad Regiam Maiestatem*, in which he craved leave "to geve and to mortyse landies and tenementis of the clere yearly value of fifty and three pounds, in the countie of Buk, to som body corporat at his denomynacion." The petition set out¹ how Colet, "to the pleasure of God and for and in augmentation and encrease, as well of connyng as of vertuose lyving w'in this your realme, hathe now of late edified within the cimitery of the said cathedrall church a scholehouse (wherein he purposith that children as well borne as to be borne w'yn youre saide citie as elsewhere) to the same repayingr shall not oonly in contynuanee be substancially taughte & lernyd in Laten tung, but also instructe & informed in vertuose condicions."

The reply to this petition, a warrant by letters patent of the King, was delivered on June 6, 1510. These letters patent, which may be considered as the original charter of the school, gave permission to the Mercers' Company to acquire lands in mortmain to the annual value of £53, for the better support of one master and one or two ushers in the school which John Colet, Dean of St. Paul's, had founded.

A month later, on July 27, according to a document the source of which has never been stated,² the Chapter and Chancellor of St. Paul's granted the site of the old school, its buildings and all its rights to the Dean. The Chapter told how—

"By antient, lawful, and laudable prescription, as well as

¹ Appendix to Third Report of Commissioners on Charities, 1820, p. 161.

² *Times*, April 2, 1904.

by the statutes and laudable customs of the said Cathedral church, the master of the grammar school of the said Church of St. Paul's, London, for the time being, has always been a member of our body, and has the right of entry to the choir of the said church during divine service, and of a seat in a fitting stall in the accustomed place there, whether he is a priest or a layman, so long as he appears in a proper surplice. And whereas, both in his own person and for his own house or inn, he has always enjoyed the same liberty as the master of the house of the alms boys (*i. e.* the choristers). Therefore we take into our body and that of our church Master William Lyly, the first master of the new school of St. Paul's, and his successors in office, and that he and his successors in office may exercise their office quietly in the premisses and be diligent in the teaching of the boys. . . . We grant that the master, the school and the house may be free from all parochial exactions, and enjoy the same privilege as the alms boys' house of the said church enjoys, and that in that house they need recognize no curate except the cardinals of St. Paul's, from whom they ought to receive all sacraments and sacramentals."

Curate, of course, means *curé*, a person in cure of souls; and the cardinals were the senior minor canons.

Further, according to the same authority, "Colet obtained from 'the most holy father the Pope' a Bull confirming the exemption of his school from the jurisdiction of the Chancellor of St. Paul's." In his application he described how, "at his own proper cost, he had caused to be built a certain school in the city of London, in the place or churchyard of the Cathedral church of London, a spot, indeed, which was the chief and most frequented and, as it were, the very eye of the city, where already there was a school, plainly of no importance, now newly built from the foundation in most beautiful stone-work and endowed."

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The Mercers' minutes record¹ that on September 23, 1510, Colet was present at a Court of the company, and related how he had obtained the mortmain licence from the King, and the minutes go on to say that "the said Master Dean showed unto the company that for such labours and business as they and their successors should have in the ordering of the said school that they should have in this city of London upon the payment of forty-four marks by year in rents." No trace is to be found of any conveyance to the company of lands in the city worth forty-four marks a year, and it was mainly on this entry that the Mercers depended in the claim set up by them in the nineteenth century, the gist of which was that, after providing on a liberal scale for the expenses of the school, the surplus rents and profits were to vest in the company for its own absolute use and benefit.

On March 23, 1511, the building of the old grammar school of the cathedral—"My grammar-house, a messuage lately called Paul's School," as Colet calls it in his will of 1514—was vested in three citizens and Mercers of London as trustees for the company. They reconveyed the property to the Dean, and the actual endowment of the new school with the building and site of the old did not take effect until the death of the Dean, when it vested in the company under the provisions of Colet's will, executed in 1514.²

In the inventory of "the landis of the scole" affixed to the statutes, the first item relates to the "olde scole," the annual value of which is there stated to be twenty shillings. The reason for the conveyance by Colet to the three Mercers, and for their reconveyance to him, was that Colet, as Dean, could not convey directly to Colet as a private individual. On July 12, 1511, Colet, pursuant to "the

¹ Report of Public Schools Commission, 1864, vol. ii. p. 586.

² R.B. Gardiner, *Registers of St. Paul's School*, vol. i. pp. 374, 385.

licence to mortefy granted by the King's grace" in the preceding year, executed a deed of conveyance¹ of some two thousand acres of his Buckinghamshire estates to the Mercers' Company "for the continuation of a certain school in the churchyard of the Church of St. Paul, for boys in the same school in good manners and literature to be taught, and for the support of one master and one usher or two ushers of the same, and other things necessary there to be done according to the ordinances of me the aforesaid John Colet, my heirs or escheators."

On September 6, in the same year, the Dean and Chapter of the cathedral granted to the Mercers' Company a piece of vacant land at the east end of the chapel of St. Dunstan of the Church of St. Paul, 21 feet long by 9 feet broad, to hold for ninety-nine years at the rent of a red rose, renewable at the end of every ninety-nine years for ever. This piece of land, which, from the plan in Dugdale's history of the cathedral, is seen to have been at the south-east angle of the choir and south of the chapel of St. Mary, was between the two southernmost of the four buttresses of the cathedral, and was the site on which, after having been used for other purposes, was built a lodge for the porter in 1573, and a house for the under usher in 1588.² On November 4, 1511, Colet devised by will numerous messuages, lands, and tenements in London to the Mercers, for the same purpose as that for which he had transferred the estates in Buckinghamshire *inter vivos*.³

The Acts of Court of the Company state that on March 30 and June 15, 1512, it was resolved⁴ that "communication should be made with Master Dean of Paul's to

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 371.

² App. to Rep. of Commrs. on Chars., 1820, p. 163.

³ Brewer, vol. i. 1933; Knight, *Colet*, 1823, p. 284.

⁴ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 7; Select Committee of House of Lords on Public Schools Bill, 1865, p. 10.

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conclude with him upon all such articles as shall concern the conformation of the new school at Paul's." On June 17 it appears that "Master Dean of Paul's showed further and read a book containing certain articles, wherein he hath expressed the devise of his will to be fulfilled and observed, as well by the school-master in the new school at Paul's that now and hereafter shall be, as by the children that be or shall be in the same school, and also by the fellowship of the Mercery . . . , and when the company had heard the aforesaid book read, and understood his mind therein in every condition, they gave him great thanking, promising him that the company will be glad to endeavour themselves to the accomplishment of his said will, written in the said book concerning the said school, and the said Dean promised to send hither a copy of the said book, and to the intent that if anything be to be added or diminished, they may advertise the said Master Dean thereof that it may be redressed."

The Acts of Court record that exactly a month later, on July 17, 1512, "the Boke of Ordinance of the Scole of Powles was exhibited by Mr. Deane."¹

On April 16, 1513, Colet obtained² a "licence to found a perpetual chantry for one chaplain in the chapel of St. Mary and St. John on the south side of the school in the cemetery of the Church of St. Paul, to be called the chantry of St. Mary." He also obtained the issue of a mortmain licence to the guild of Mercers to acquire lands to the annual value of £20 for the support of the chantry.

Pursuant to this, in the following January Colet himself³ obtained a mortmain licence to grant to the Mercers lands in the eastern counties for the support of the chantry which were of the annual value of £20 6s. 8d.

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 7.

² Brewer, vol. i. 3900.

³ Brewer, vol. i. 4659.

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Five months later, in June 1514, Colet executed a second will, which was that which took effect upon his death. By this document he granted to the Mercers, in addition to the houses and lands intended to be devised by the earlier will, some tenements in Old Change and also "all that my grammar school and the chapel founded in the same, together with the house for the master and the other offices of the same school by me lately built and constructed upon my land lying near the wall of the churchyard of St. Paul's, London, at the east part to wit . . . containing in length, from south to north, one hundred and twenty-two feet of assize, and in breadth, from east to west, thirty and three feet of assize ; and, moreover, all that my grammar house, a messuage lately called Paul's Scole, and four shops under the same house or messuage constructed, now in the tenure of William Berell . . . situate near St. Austin's Gate . . . which I lately had by gift, grant and confirmation of John Osyer, Benjamin Digby, and Simon Rice, citizens and mercers of the aforesaid city, and in which at present I am solely seized in my demesne as of fee."

On August 8, 1516, Colet executed a deed¹ by which he granted to the Mercers' Company certain property in the eastern counties (including the Manor of Barton, Cambs.), "for the sustentation of one perpetual chantry, of one chaplain to celebrate divine worship in a certain chapel of the blessed Virgin Mary and of St. John the Evangelist, near the school at the southern part of the said school in the churchyard of the said cathedral, by the said John Colet then newly founded and built."

The last of the legal documents which is known to be extant concerning the foundation of the school, is an undated surrender by the Dean and his mother of copyhold lands in Stepney to "the lord of the manor of Stebunhith" to the

¹ App. to Third Rep. of Commrs. on Chars., 1820, p. 164.

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had not been used for a considerable period for the purpose its name would imply. The statement of Stow which has been referred to is this, "As divers schools, by suppressing of religious houses whereof they were members in the reign of Henry VIII have been decayed, so again have some others been newly erected and founded for them, as, namely, St. Paul's School in place of an old ruined house, was built in a most ample manner, and largely endowed in the year 1512 by John Collett."¹

The interpretation of this, it is submitted, is that the "old ruined house" was not the old school-house, but the building on the site of which Colet built his new school, and some corroboration of this is afforded by a passage in the *Grey Friars Chronicle*, in which, speaking of the storm on January 15, 1505-6, which drove Philip the Fair into Weymouth harbour, the writer says,² "That same nyghte it blewe downe the weddercocke of Powles steppule the lengthe of the est ende of Powlles church vn-to the syne of the blacke egylle at that tyme was lowe howses of bokebynderes wher nowe is the scole of Powles."

Francis Bacon's account of the same incident in his *History of King Henry VII* is more explicit, and suggests enough damage to make the low houses of bookbinders be aptly described as ruined. The great tempest, he says, "blew down the golden eagle from the spire of Paul's, and in the fall it fell upon a sign of the black eagle, which was in Paul's churchyard, in the place where the school-house now standeth, and battered it, and brake it down: which was a strange stooping of a hawk upon a fowl."

It must be admitted that none of the earliest writers say a word to suggest that Colet, in founding his school, was not starting completely *ab initio*. Stow, on the other hand,

¹ Kingsford's edition of *Stow*, 1908, p. 73.

² *Monumenta Franciscana*, p. 185.

appears to have had no doubt that Colet grafted his foundation upon an old stock, for he speaks of "Powles Schoole, lately new founded and endowed."¹

The arguments which are used to suggest that Colet did not take over the existing cathedral grammar school are all directed to show that the cathedral grammar school continued concurrently with Colet's new school of St. Paul's.

Dr. Lupton, who, it must be premised, never distinguishes the cathedral grammar school from the cathedral singing school, has summarized the arguments on this point. He quotes the case of Thomas Tusser, which will be dealt with later, but since he comes to the conclusion that he was educated at the singing school it does not concern us now. That of William Harrison may also be passed over, since Dr. Lupton assigns him to Colet's school, on the evidence which is extant.²

Dr. Lupton then quotes an entry from the churchwardens' accounts for the parish of St. Michael, Cornhill, for 1548, "Item payd to the Scolle Mr. of Polles for wrytyng of the masse in Englysh & ye benedictes vs." The presumption in this case, Dr. Lupton asserts, is that the cathedral school is referred to, the reason given for this inference being that "it was the special duty of the grammar master of the choristers to write out the bills or service papers." This statement is supported by an extract from the ancient cathedral statutes,³ "Quod magister scholarum tabulam lecturae scribat vel scribi faciat vice cancellarii." The words of the statute show that the master of the cathedral grammar school, not of the singing school, was charged with the duty, and the entry is of no value as indicating a continuance of that grammar school if, as is contended,

¹ Kingsford, *Stow*, p. 332.

² Lupton, *Colet*, pp. 157-159.

³ W. S. Simpson, *Reg. Stat.* p. 78.

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the high master of Colet's school took over the duties and privileges of the master of the cathedral grammar school.

The most important point, however, which has been urged to prove this, is that in view of Colet's statute, "I will they use no . . . disputing at St. Bartilmews . . which is but foolishe babling and loss of time," it is impossible that the "scholars of Paules Schoole," who, according to Holinshed, took part in the disputations at St. Bartholomew's Fair in 1555, were the boys of Dean Colet's school. *Ergo*, they were the boys of the cathedral grammar school, which is, therefore, shown to have existed after Colet's foundation of St. Paul's. The known readiness with which the statutes were disregarded in certain other respects would tend to diminish the importance of this argument, but its value is destroyed when we find that John Stow, who, as we have seen above, meant Colet's school when he referred to St. Paul's, speaks of the disputations in these terms¹: "I remember there repaired to these exercises amongst others the masters and scholars of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peter's at Westminster, of St. Thomas Acon's Hospital, and of St. Anthonies Hospital."

The last argument in favour of the continuance of the old grammar school adduced by Dr. Lupton is to be found in the agreement by which in 1574 Jesus College, Cambridge, gave the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's the right to nominate to certain Reston Scholarships at the College "candidates chosen from St. Paul's School, or, in defect, from any other." This, he holds, must apply to the cathedral grammar school, since "(1) the Dean and Chapter would not look on it as a valuable privilege to nominate to scholarships from a school with which they had no concern ;" (2) Dean Nowell is mentioned as having "enlarged the schools of St. Paul." He may very well have done this to

¹ Kingsford, *Stow*, p. 74.

his own cathedral schools (those of singing and grammar), but the expression would be inappropriate, and not justified by facts, in relation to Dean Colet's school; (3) if the Coletine school had ever enjoyed the benefit of such exhibitions, some record of it would certainly have been preserved."

Let us take these points seriatim. (1) As far as the Dean was concerned Dr. Nowell was very much alive to the interests of Colet's St. Paul's School. His nephew, William Whitaker, who lived with him at the Deanery, was sent by him to that school, a thing which would not have been likely had a cathedral grammar school been in existence. Nowell was engaged after the year 1568 in distributing charitable gifts to various people out of the estate of his brother, to whom he was executor. The beneficiaries in many instances were "schollers of Poull's School." If there was a cathedral grammar school in existence, the one person to whom one would expect that that school would be "Paul's" would be the Dean of the cathedral. That this was not so we know from three facts. One of Nowell's beneficiaries, John Medley by name, was the son of a mercer, and was an exhibitioner of Colet's St. Paul's in 1574. Thomas Mudde "of Powles School," another recipient of the Dean's bounty, is stated in the Mercers' records to have been granted an exhibition in 1578, "at the suit of Mr. Nowel, Dean of Paul's," while of a third beneficiary, one "Clerke of Powles schole," it is stated in Nowell's accounts of his disbursements that he was "commended by Mr. Malyne" which is an obvious reference to Malym, the high master of St. Paul's from 1573 to 1581. Further, we know from the Mercers' accounts that "Mr. Deane (Nowell) of Powell's" took part in the election of John Harrison, Malym's successor, as high master, and that three years later the master of the choristers was ordered

to send his boys to St. Paul's School to learn grammar and the catechism in Latin. (2) As to Dr. Lupton's second point, its value disappears when the original from which the statement is taken is consulted. It occurs on Nowell's tomb, an engraving of which shows that the line in the epitaph ran,¹ "Praesidi scholae Paulinae, plurimorum auctori." The reference, it will be seen, is to "the school" (not "the schools") "of St. Paul's." (3) In view of what has been said, this argument is not of great value.

Finally, the early date at which the original dedication of Colet's school was forgotten, and at which the foundation became known as St. Paul's School, is strong evidence in favour of the contention that the cathedral grammar school had disappeared. Above Colet's tomb, it is true, was the line, "Quique scholam struxit celebrem cognomine Jesu," upon which Strype wrote the well-known comment, "So that the true name of his school is Jesus School rather than St. Paul's School, but the saint hath robbed his master of his title." The only other mention of St. Paul's under its original name which I have ever met with is to be found in the MS. history of the Offley family, in which² reference is made to "Mr. William Lillie, who made the grammar now called Lillie's grammar, and was newly elected school-master of Jesus School in Paul's Churchyard, of the foundation of that worthy Dr. Colet." The founder himself, on the other hand, headed his ordinances for the school as *Statuta Paulinae Scholae*, the Mercers' minutes in 1510 refer to the "schole of Poules," in the "Proheme" to his *Accidence* the founder speaks of "the love and zeale that I have to the newe schole of Poules," and Lily's epitaph, written only three years after that of Colet, refers to him as "*Paulinae Scholae olim praeceptor primario.*"

¹ Dugdale, p. 112.

² Joseph Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, vol. v. p. 542.

A far more difficult problem presents itself when we attempt to distinguish Colet's school from that of the choristers, and endeavour to determine who are meant by the "children of Paul's" in the frequent accounts of interludes and plays in the reigns of Henry VIII and his successors down to James I's time.

In mediæval times the presentation of mysteries and miracle plays was in the hands of the boys of the cathedral choir. Thus, in 1378 we find the choristers of St. Paul's presenting a petition to Richard II praying him to prevent some ignorant and inexperienced persons from acting the history of the Old Testament to the great prejudice of the clergy of the church, who had spent much money in preparing plays of that type for Christmas.¹

As to the plays with which we are concerned, which were produced under the Tudors, it is indisputable that in some instances the boy-actors were educated in Colet's school, since mention is made in connection with the plays, of John Ritwise, the high master of that school.

"By parity of reasoning," says Dr. Lupton, "the 'children of Paul's' who acted before Elizabeth, at Eltham, in the summer of 1559, must be assigned to the cathedral (*i.e.* the choir) school, from the name of their master, Sebastian Westcott."² The Acts of the Privy Council³ for the years 1563 to 1575 contain records of six payments of sums which are never less than £6 13s. 4d. "to Sebastian Westcott Master of the Children of Polles for a play presented before her highnesse." Westcott's name disappears from the accounts after the year 1575, but payments to unnamed persons continue to be recorded until 1582. In 1587 and 1588 Thomas Giles received payments.

¹ Malone's *Shakespeare*, Boswell, iii. 24.

² Collier's *Annals of the Stage*, 1831, vol. i. p. 172 n.

³ Acts of P. C., New Ser., vol. vii.

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Another payment was made in 1590, and finally, in 1601, Edward Piers received a similar sum. I do not think it is possible to follow the accepted view set out by Dr. Lupton that the players of these interludes during the first twenty-eight years of Elizabeth's reign had no connection with Colet's school.

Rightwise and his pupils were referred to in the Statepapers of 1527¹ as "the master of Paul's and the children," and were engaged to act at Court and before Cardinal Wolsey at least four times. On at least three occasions in the ten years from 1537 to 1546, and twice within a few months in the year 1555, religious processions took place through the streets of London, in all of which, according to different chroniclers, the "children of Paul's School" took part. Colet had provided in his statutes that "In general processions whenne they be warnyd they shall goo tweyn and tweyn together soberly and not sing out but say deuoutly tweyn and tweyn vij psalmes with the latany," and in confirmation of the strong presumption that the "children of Paul's" who took part in the procession were boys of Dean Colet's school, William Harrison writes in his *Chronology*,² under the date 1544, "The children of Pawles School, whereof I was one at that time, were inforced to buy these bookes" (*i.e.* "the Letany in thenglish towng"), "wherewith we went in generall procession, as it was then appointed, before the King went to Bullen" (Boulogne). The value of this statement lies in the fact that it would not be likely that the choristers should have to buy their own service-books, while Dean Colet's "Articles of Admission" expressly provide that a boy's parents shall "fynde hym convenient bokes to his lernynge."

Enough has been said to show that by the "children of

¹ Brewer, *Let. and Pap.*, vol. i., pt. ii., 3564.

² Harrison's *Description of England*, p. li., ed. Furnivall, 1877.

Paul's" is not necessarily meant the choir school. There is strong evidence, moreover, to indicate a considerable measure of intercommunication between Colet's school and the choir school, to which attention has hitherto never been drawn.

The choristers of Westminster Abbey were entitled to a free education at St. Peter's College, Westminster, from the date of the foundation of that school until 1848. The fact that the connection between the choristers of St. Paul's and the school in the churchyard disappeared long before that date has caused the existence of such a link to be ignored.

The MS. relating to Sir Thomas Offley, to which reference has already been made, states that "this Thomas Offley became a good grammarian under Mr. Lillie, and understood the Latin tongue perfectly: and because he had a sweet voice he was put to learn prick-song among the choristers of St. Paul's, for that learned Mr. Lillie knew full well that knowledge in music was a help and a furtherance to all arts. *Musica mentis medecina meste*, for it is a great help to pronounciation and judgment. Pythagoras would admit of no scholar unless he had some perfect knowledge in music: so had this Thomas in both these arts, above his fellows at that tender age."

Thomas Tusser, who writes, "From Paul's I went, to Eton sent," although claimed as a Pauline by Mr. Gardiner¹ is assigned by Dr. Lupton to the choir school owing to his reference to his early career as a choir-boy at Wallingford, and his progress in music under Redford, the organist at St. Paul's Cathedral; but in view of what we know of Offley's career, and of the Pauline tradition to the effect that in the original MS. of Tusser's autobiography there was an additional stanza in which he referred to Lily as

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 463.

paedagogus, it is very difficult to deny the probability of his having been educated in Colet's school, while at the same time singing in the cathedral choir.

On the occasion of the coronation procession of Queen Mary, according to a MS. in the Harleian collection ¹—

“At the Scholehouse in Palles Church, ther was certain children and men sung dyverse staves in gratefying the Queene; ther she stayed a good while and gave dilligent ere to their song.” The mention of singing suggests that the children were choristers, and the fact that this was the case is shown by the statement of Holinshed that “In Paul's churchyard against the school one Master Heiwood sat in pageant under a vine and made an oration in Latin and English.” John Heywood, it is true, had been put in charge of the singing school a short time before, but it is impossible to suppose, unless some such interdependence as has been suggested existed between the choir school and the “new schole,” that he should have been allowed to take his stand at a State function in front of Colet's school on the very spot consecrated to the presentation of royal addresses by its masters and boys, from which Lily himself had made an oration to the Emperor Charles V, and the pupils of Jones addressed Anne Boleyn, from which in the following year a “skoller of Paul's School” was to present a book to Philip of Spain, and from which, six years later, John Cook's pupils were to exercise what appears to have been regarded as a prescriptive right, by addressing Queen Elizabeth while on her way to her coronation. The final piece of evidence bearing on the connection between the choir-boys and Dean Colet's school relates to the fact that in 1584, during the high mastership of John Harrison, Thomas Gyles, “master of the Quiristers in St Paul's Cathedral,” was

¹ Queen Mary and Queen Jane, Camden Socy. 1850.

directed by Dean Nowell to instruct them in the Catechism, Writing, and Music ; and then¹ “suffer them to resort to St. Paul’s School that they may learn the principles of Grammar ; and after, as they shall be forwards, learn the said Catechism in Latin, which before they learned in English, and other good books taught in the same School.”

In addition to the play mentioned by Dr. Lupton as having taken place at Eltham in 1559, other performances “by the children of Paul’s” were acted before Queen Elizabeth in the early years of her reign, and even before she had succeeded to the throne.

In 1554 Queen Mary visited the Princess Elizabeth, who was living at Hatfield under the care of Sir Thomas Pope. In the same year and at the same place *Holofernes* was produced, and after supper a play was acted by them, while five years later, when Lord Arundel entertained Queen Elizabeth at his palace of Nonsuch in Surrey, he arranged for the production of a play “by the Children of Paul’s and their Master, Sebastian.”²

Whatever opinion may be held as to the evidence which has been adduced concerning the identity of the “children of Paul’s” spoken of in these cases, it must be admitted that pupils of Colet’s school are indicated in all the references which are later in date than Dean Nowell’s order of 1584.

In the same year John Lyly, the Euphuist, was appointed vice-master of the choristers, and although doubts may be expressed as to whether Paulines acted the farces of John Heywood which were produced some years earlier, the Court comedies of Lyly must certainly have been acted by boys educated in Colet’s school.

¹ Churton’s *Life of A. Nowell*, p. 190.

² Warton, *History of English Poetry*, ii. 234, iii. 312 ; Warton, *Life of Sir T. Pope*, p. 85.

The same must also be said of the plays of the later Elizabethan dramatists which bear on their title page the statement that they were "first enacted by the children of Paul's."

We may claim, then, no mean literary association for the Paulines of the end of the sixteenth century, when we say that they produced for the first time plays by Dekker, Marston, Percy, Middleton, and Beaumont and Fletcher.

A Latin play, entitled *Sapientia Salamonis*, was also acted before Queen Elizabeth by the boys of the school. A MS. copy of this play, which was once in the library of Horace Walpole, is preserved in the British Museum, and has the arms of Elizabeth embossed on the vellum binding. The Queen's interest in the maintenance of her company of boy players is seen from the fact that in 1586 she issued an arbitrary warrant under her sign manual, authorizing "Thomas Giles, Master of the children of the Cathedrall Church of St. Paule to take up any boys in Collegiate or Cathedrall churches, and to instruct them for the entertainment of the Court so that they might become meete and liable to serve us when our pleasure is to call for them."¹

In less than five years, however, the performances by the boys at St. Paul's were inhibited on account of the personal abuse and scurrility which was put into the mouths of the children, but the prohibition was removed after a very few years, and thus it was that Rosencrantz could speak of "an eyrie of children, little eyasses that cry out on the top of the question and are most tyrannically clapped for it, these are now the fashion and so berattle the stage."²

¹ Collier, *Annals of the Stage*.

² *Hamlet*, Act II. sc. ii. 355.

CHAPTER III

DEAN COLET'S STATUTES

THE provisions of Colet's ordinances are traditionally stated to have been in some measure borrowed from those of the school at Banbury in Oxfordshire, which unfortunately are no longer extant. The statutes of Manchester Grammar School,¹ which was founded fifteen years after St. Paul's, provided that the high master (as he was called there as at St. Paul's) should be "able to teche Childreyn Gramyer after the Scole use, manner and forme of the Scole of Banbury in Oxfurdshere, now there taught, wiche is called Stanbridge Gramyer." The same stipulation, in other words, is to be found in connection with the grammar school at Cuckfield, in Sussex.

We do not know whether Colet transcribed the statutes of Banbury School with anything approaching the exactitude with which the founder of Eton copied in many instances those of Winchester College, but this we do know, that Colet's statutes for St. Paul's remained for many years "common form," and that numerous schools, notably those of Manchester and of Merchant Taylors, contain among their statutes what are obviously verbatim extracts from the statutes of St. Paul's, while Wolsey's great though short-lived school at Ipswich copied Colet's school in containing eight classes, as well as in the use of its grammar.

The minutes of the Mercers' Company record that, on

¹ Carlisle, *English Grammar Schools*, ii. 294.

July 17, 1512, "The Boke of Ordinance of the Scolle of Powles was exhibited by Mr. Deane." Nothing is known about this "Boke of Ordinance," the earliest known statutes of the school being those declared to have been delivered by the founder to Lily in 1518, of which two copies signed by the founder *manu sua propria* are known to be extant.

Of these, one, which is in the British Museum,¹ appears to be earlier than that which is preserved at Mercers' Hall, since the latter contains, incorporated in the text, corrections which were made in the former.

The statutes of St. Paul's School have been so often reprinted² that it is not necessary to quote them *in extenso* in this place. In the Prologus, in which the Dean states that he is "desyring nothing more thanne Educacion and bringing upp of chyl dren in good Maners and litterature," he goes on to say, "and forbecause no thing can continu long and endure in good ordre withoute lawes an statutis I the saide John haue here expressid and shewid my minde what I wolde shulde be truly and diligently obseruid and kept."

The statutes are divided into chapters, "De magistro primario, De submagistro, Of both maistres at onys, The Chapelyn, The Children, What shall be taught, The Mercers Charge, and Liberte to declare the Statutes." After which comes an inventory of "the landis of the Scolle."

It is worth while to compare the provisions of the statutes of St. Paul's School dealing with the high master, with Colet's cathedral ordinance "Of the Grammar Master," which shows how the words and phrases of the latter are, as it were, echoed more than once in the statutes of St. Paul's School.

¹ Addit. MSS. 6274.

² R. B. G., vol. i. p. 375 ; Lupton, *Colet*, p. 271.

ANCIENT STATUTE OF
CATHEDRAL GRAMMAR
SCHOOL

"The Master of the Grammar School should be a good & honest man of much & approved learning."

"He shall imbue them" (*i. e.* the children) "at the same time with both chaste learning and holy morals."

(He shall) "be to them a Master not only of Grammar but of Virtue."

COLET'S STATUTES FOR ST.
PAUL'S SCHOOL

(The High Master shall be) "honeste & vertuose & learnyd."

(The Masters shall instruct the children by reading to them) "such auctours that hath with wisdom Joyned the pure chaste eloquence,"

(The Mercers shall say to the High Master :) "Sir, we haue chosyn you . . . to teche . . . not allonly good litterature but also good Maners."

The high master who was to be chosen by the Mercers' Company with the advice of learned men, must be "a man hoole in body honeste and vertuose and learnyd in good and clene laten litterature and also in greke yf suyche may be gotten a weddid man a single manne or a preste that hath noo benefice with cure nor seruice that may lett his due besynes in the scole." The statutes of Eton, it may be noted in passing, required both the master and the undermaster to be unmarried.

The high master, the usher, and the chaplain were all to be appointed subject to a proviso that "this is no Rome of continuance and perpetuite," the election of the first-named being subject to ratification every Candlemas-day on the visitation of the school by the Mercers. The qualifications for the surmastership were almost identical with those for the high mastership, but no knowledge of Greek was

to be required. He was to be appointed and dismissed by the high master subject to the approval of the Mercers.

As to "the Chapelyn," it was provided that "There shalbe also in the Scole a preist that dayly as he can be disposid shall sing masse in the chapell of the Scole and pray for the Children to prosper in good lyff and in goode litterature to the honour of god and our lorde Christ Jesu. At his masse whenne the bell in the scole shall knyll to sacring thenne all the Children in the scole knelyng in theyr Settes shall with lyft up handis pray in the tyme of sacryng. After the sacring whenne the bell knyllith ageyn, they shall sitt downe ageyn to theyr lernyng."

The chaplain, who was nominated by the Mercers, was directed to "teche the children the catechyzon and Instruction of the artycles of faith, and the x commaundements in English," and also if the high master wished it was to help to teach in the school.

Attention has not hitherto been drawn to one provision in the statutes relating to the masters of the school which is very characteristic of the liberality of Dean Colet, namely, the direction as to the payment of pensions. In the case of their falling ill with a "sekenesse curable" they were to receive their salaries in full. In case the high master contracted an incurable sickness, or were to become too old to teach "lett ther be assignede . . . a reasonable levyng of x li. or other Wyse as it shall seme convenient so that the olde maister after his longe labor in noo wise be lefte destitute." In the event of the surmaster coming to the same pass, he was committed to the charity of the Mercers, who were to provide him with a pension from the surplus of the school funds, the founder "praying theme to be charitable in that behalff."

The salary of the high master was fixed at a mark a week, or in other words £34 13s. 4d. In addition to this



Vides Praeceptoris apud 1670.

THE HIGH MASTER'S COUNTRY HOUSE AT STEPNEY

From Knight's "Life of Colet"

[To face p. 36.]

he was entitled to "a levery gowne of iiij nobles delyueryd in cloth," the value of which brought his income up to £36 a year. Further, he was given free lodgings in the school and a house at Stepney "to resorte vnto." A writer in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*¹ appears to have ignored this fact when he says "that the head master of Shrewsbury, who in 1578 received £40 a year, held what was "far the best paid headship in England."

The salary of the surmaster was just half that of the high master, and in addition he was to have a livery gown of four nobles, as to which it may be observed that this was not a mere academic ornament over the coat, but the chief part of a man's raiment, as may be seen in its survival in the blue coat of the boys of Christ's Hospital.

The chaplain was to be paid £7 a year, and his livery gown was to cost £1 5s. 7d. instead of £1 6s. 8d., which was the price paid for those of his colleagues.

Erasmus speaks of the masters as receiving "ample salaries," George Lily of their being paid "liberal stipends," and a very good impression of the high position which Colet intended that his school should occupy can be gathered from a comparison of the salaries of the masters of St. Paul's with those of other schools.

In 1443, three years after the foundation of the college, the Provost of Eton was paid £75, the head master £16, and the usher £10.² Twenty-five years later, owing to the depreciation of revenues, the salary of the provost was reduced to £20, that of the head master to £10, and that of the usher to £4. The Commissioners of Henry VIII reported in 1546 that the provost was paid only £30, and it was not till two years later that the head master was paid the full amount sanctioned by the founder.

¹ Vol. iii. Article on Univs. and Schools.

² Lyte, p. 67.

On the foundation of St. Peter's College, Westminster, in 1540, it was proposed to pay the head master £12 a year, but before the statutes reached their final form, the amount was increased to £20, a sum which was augmented by grants for a gown and commons to £27 11s. 8d. The total salary of the second master, calculated in the same way, amounted to £14 11s. 8d.

The statutory stipends of all the three masters of Merchant Taylors School were fixed on its foundation, in 1561, at £10 a year, but owing to the generosity of one of the members of the court of the company that of the head master was for some years raised to twice that amount.

From these figures it will be seen that Colet provided for the payment of exceptionally high salaries to his masters, that of the surmaster being greater than that of the head master of Eton, and almost as large as those of the head masters of Westminster and Merchant Taylors, even though the purchasing power of money had largely diminished in the forty or fifty years which elapsed before their foundation. The salary of the high master was more than a quarter of the income of the Lord Chancellor of England, while he had this further advantage over the head masters of other schools, that he was entitled to the use of a country house as well as his town house at the school.

The provisions in Colet's statutes as to "the children" (the *parvuli Christi*, as he feelingly calls them in the dedication to his Accidence) are remarkable in that they contain no restrictions, either local or, as at Winchester and Eton, as to founder's kin, and no nominations by any privileged caste. With a wise liberality the first section provides that "There shalbe taught in the scole children of all nacions and countres indifferently to the Nounber of a cliii accordyng to the Nounber of the Setys in the scole."

As Mr. Gardiner has shown,¹ the connection between the number of scholars in the school and the "hundred and fifty and three great fishes" caught in the net by St. Peter, as recorded in the last chapter of the Gospel of St. John,² is not referred to either by Colet or Erasmus, or by George Lily or Polydore Vergil. The first writer, indeed, who associates the number with the miraculous draught of fishes is Thomas Fuller, whose faculty for tracing such allusions is well known.

In spite of this the tradition has become so well fixed that Dr. Kynaston made it the subject of one of his poems. The foundation scholars in the school are privileged to wear a "luce," or pike, designed in silver by Mr. Harris, the art-master, and below the mosaics in the Great Hall—of St. Paul and Dean Colet—the tradition is embodied in a beautifully decorative design.

In this connection, also, must be mentioned the curious fact that on the reverse of the first leaf of the statutes preserved at Mercers' Hall the following memorandum occurs in Colet's handwriting: "Of halidayes and half halidayes all noubred togyder in which ys no teachinge ther be yn the hole yere VIIxx and XIIJ." Seven score and thirteen, it will be observed, make a hundred and fifty-three.

In the numbers of the school, Colet, for his time, planned on a large scale. Winchester had but seventy scholars, with sixteen choristers besides; Eton had seventy scholars and still fewer choristers; Westminster had only forty scholars and eighty commensals. Each of these schools had only two masters. I do not know of any other school at the beginning of the sixteenth century with so many boys as a hundred and fifty-three, or with three masters in attendance engaged in teaching them.

¹ *Regs.*, vol. i. p. 380.

² *xxi.* 11.

The proviso "I will they vse no kokfighting nor rydyng aboute of victory" is in marked contrast with the less humanitarian statutes of some other schools, in which "cock-pennies" were ordered to be brought to the school-master on Shrove Tuesday, and the birds so bought were buried up to their necks and had "cock-steles" thrown at them, the most successful boy being carried astride on a pole on the shoulders of his companions.

Although Colet wished his school to be open to all comers, he nevertheless insisted in his statutes on a knowledge of reading and writing and of the Catechism, as a condition precedent to admission. On entering the school every boy had to pay a fee of fourpence, which went to "the pore Scoler that swepith the scole." Otherwise, education in the school was to be given free of all charge.

Mention of the poor scholar brings us to the consideration of the rank of the boys whom Colet proposed to benefit by his foundation. Lord Brougham, who was chairman of the Committee of the House of Commons on Education which sat in 1816, had occasion to study the statutes of St. Paul's and other public schools. In a letter¹ upon the abuse of charities written to Sir Samuel Romilly in 1818, he pointed out that the statutes of Winchester expressly refer to "pauperes et indigentes scholares." Those of Eton speak of "collegium perpetuum Pauperium et indigentium scholarium"; while those of Westminster expressly prohibit the election to the foundation of any boy "who has, or at his father's death will inherit, a patrimony of above ten pounds." The charter of the Charterhouse provides in so many words for the "education of poor children"; and Lord Brougham might have added that one hundred and fifty of the boys at Merchant Taylors were bound to be "poore men's children."

¹ *Speeches*, vol. iii. p. 55.

From a comparison of Colet's statutes with these, Lord Brougham¹ came to the definite conclusion that St. Paul's "by manifest implication was founded for the rich alone," and we may add that not one of the three detailed contemporary accounts of the foundation, written by Erasmus, George Lily and Polydore Vergil respectively, implies for one moment that the school was founded for the poor.

The proviso in the "Articles of admission," that a boy on his admission shall "rede and wryte latyn and englishe sufficiently," and that his friends shall "fynde hym convenient bokes to his lernynge," certainly point to this inference, as does the express mention of one poor scholar; while the clause in the statutes insisting on the use of candles made of wax and not of tallow "at the cost of theyre ffrendis" is a further indication in the same direction, for wax, which, according to Thorold Rogers, was used only in the domestic arrangements of monarchs and nobles, at this time cost more than eight times as much as did tallow, and the consumption of wax candles costing nearly a shilling a pound in the school, which assembled at seven and was dispersed at five both in winter and summer, must have been very considerable. The statutes of Merchant Taylors, drawn upon the basis of those of St. Paul's in 1561, assign a fixed annual sum of money for wax candles "for the poore children to read their bookes by" in the winter mornings and evenings.

After providing for "the children" in the statutes and setting out "what shalbe taught"—a matter which will be dealt with in another place—Colet enacted that two members of the Mercers' Company, to be called Surveyors, should be chosen to attend to the business of the school, and should hold office for two years, one of them to retire annually. In conclusion comes the chapter giving "Liberte to declare

¹ *Speeches*, vol. iii. p. 21.

the Statutes," one of the most far-sighted of all Colet's provisions, drafted in a very different spirit from that which impelled Wykeham at Winchester, Waynfleet at Eton and King's, or Fisher at St. John's and Christ's, in which he declared, "I leve it hooly to theyr dyscrecion and Charite I meane of the Wardens and assistences of the felowshipp with suych other counsell as they shall call vnto theme good litterid and lernyd menne, They to adde and diminish vnto this boke and to supply in it euery defaute, And also to declare in it euery obscureite and derkenes as tyme and place and iust occasion shall requyre calling the dredefull god to loke vppon theme in all suych besynes, And exorting theme to fere the terrible Jugement of god which seith in derkenes and shal rendre to euery manne according to his werkes."

The frequently quoted letter from Erasmus to Justus Jonas contains the reason for Colet's choice of a city guild as the trustees of his endowment. "Over the revenues and entire management," he writes, "he set neither priests, nor the Bishop nor the chapter (as they call it), but some married citizens of established reputation; and when asked the reason, he said that though there was nothing certain in human affairs, he yet found the least corruption in them." In another place¹ Erasmus added to the same statement as to the reasons of the Dean's choice, "and though this provision did not by any means free him from anxiety, he said that as human affairs then were, this course appeared to him the least hazardous."

¹ *Dialogus de recta . . . pronuntiatione*, 1643, p. 27.

CHAPTER IV

THE SUBJECTS OF STUDY, THE SCHOOL-BOOKS, AND THE BUILDING OF THE SCHOOL

THAT part of Colet's statutes which provides for "what shalbe taught," after stating that "it passith my wit to devyse and determyn in particuler," then goes on to say that Colet's intention in founding the school is to increase the knowledge and worship of God.

"And for that intent I will the Chyldren lerne ffirst aboue all the Catechyzon in Englysh and after the accidence which I made or sum other yf eny be better to the purpose to induce chyldren more spedely to laten spech And thanne Institutum Christiani homines which that lernyd Erasmus made at my request and the boke callid Copia of the same Erasmus And thenne other auctours Christian as lactantius prudencius & proba and sedulius and Juuencus and Baptista Mantuanus and suche other as shalbe taught convenyent and moste to purpose vnto the true laten spech, all barbary all corrupcion all laten adulterate which ignorant blynde folis brought into this worlde and with the same hath distayned and poysenyd the old laten spech and the varay Romayne tong which in the tyme of Tully and Salust and Virgil and Terence was vsid which also seint Jerome and seint ambrose and seint Austen and many hooly doctors lernyd in theyr tymes, I say that fylthynesse and all such abusyon which the later blynde worlde brought in which

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more ratyr may be called blotterature thenne litterature I vtterly abbanysh and Exclude oute of this scole."

Of the six authors mentioned in this list it will be noticed that not one belongs to the period of classical Latin.

Lactantius, "the Christian Cicero," lived in the fourth century.

Proba, who is supposed to have been his contemporary, compiled a work called *Centones Virgiliani*, a poem in which lines of Virgil taken out of their context were pieced together to form a *Life of Christ*.

Prudentius, a poet, who had been in turn a soldier, an advocate, and a judge, was known in the Middle Ages as the Christian Pindar. His *Psychomachia* was used as a school-book by Alcuin in the eighth century, by Bruno in the tenth, and Ludovicus Vives, the Spanish school-master who became a fellow of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, in the fifteenth century.

Sedulius was a fifth-century school-master of a rhetoric school, and it has been suggested that Colet was attracted to his writings by his description of Christ as the Boy Doctor among the Doctors in the Temple.

Juvencus followed the same profession as Sedulius, and in his *Historia Evangelica* wrote a paraphrase of the Gospels in hexameters. In the introduction to this poem he compared St. Matthew to a law-giver, St. Mark to an eagle, St. Luke to a bull, and St. John to a lion, and although later writers and artists have transposed the emblems of St. Mark and St. John, Juvencus is primarily responsible for the traditional symbols of the four Evangelists.

Finally, Baptista Mantuanus, the "good old Mantuan" of *Love's Labour's Lost*, was a fifteenth-century Carmelite friar, whose *Bucolics* were supposed to combine all the grace of Virgil's *Eclogues* without any of their grossness. The fact that Shakespeare makes his burlesqued school-master

quote the first line, "Fauste precor gelida quando pecus omne sub umbra," is a sufficient proof that it was a common Elizabethan school-book.

We may assume that the reason why the founder did not specify certain Greek authors as suitable for reading in the school is to be found in his limited knowledge of Greek; but it must not be forgotten that he closes that section of the statutes which deals with "What Shalbe Taught" by declaring that he must "charge the Maisters that they teche all way that is best and instruct the chyldren in greke and Redyng laten in redyng vnto them suyche auctours that hathe with wisdom Joyned the pure chaste eloquence."

Some lines in Lily's *Carmen de Moribus* show very clearly that even in the founder's lifetime classical authors were read at St. Paul's. The lines as translated in a seventeenth-century MS. in the Bodleian¹ run as follows—

"Now Virgill bids thee him to reede, now Terens wolde he have,
Another whyle fine Cicero to reed him doth the crave,
Which authors whosoe hath not lern'd nothinge but dreams doth see
And in Cemeria darkness for ever he shall be."

It is impossible to suppose that these lines would have occurred in verses incorporated in the authorized school text-book if the writers mentioned were to be taboo, and the absence of the names of any Greek authors is accounted for by the fact that the *Carmen de Moribus* found a place in a Latin grammar.

Lily's pre-eminence among sixteenth-century public school-masters in England is due to the fact that he fulfilled the proviso of the founder, who enjoined that "the master shall be learned in good and clean Latin and also in Greek if such may be gotten." The last stipulation implies some

¹ Rawlinson, D. 986, p. 116.

scarcity of Greek scholars. Colet himself in 1516 deplored the fact that he had not been able to learn Greek ; but from the occurrence in an epistle of Erasmus of later date of the phrase, "Coletus strenue Graecatur," it is evident that he endeavoured towards the end of his life to repair the deficiency. According to the same authority, John Fisher, the Bishop of Rochester, who began the study of Greek late in life, was dissuaded by William Latimer from attempting it unless he could procure a teacher from Italy.

Attempts have been made to discredit the assertion that St. Paul's under Lily was the first English public school in which Greek was taught, and some colour has been lent to the negative contention by the fact that although on Colet's death Erasmus, in one of his letters, describes the course of education at the school in some detail and in a strain of high panegyric, he makes no allusion to the study of Greek. On the other hand, it is inconceivable that Colet should not have insisted on the carrying out of his own statute as to the studies of the boys, in which he says, "I wolde they were taught always in good literature both Latin and Greke."

Better evidence than this is, however, forthcoming. In March 1512 Colet wrote to Erasmus, "Do not forget the verses for our boys which I want you to compose with all your facility and sweetness," and in answer to this request Erasmus, among other verses from his pen, which were hung up in the school-room, wrote the *Sapphicum Carmen*, which began—

"Haec rudis (tanquam nova testa), pubes
Literas Graias simul et Latinas,
Et fidem sacram tenerisque CHRISTUM
Conbibet annis."

In the accounts of Thomas Linacre, who acted as executor of William Grocyn in 1520, Lily, who was

Grocyn's godson, is seen to have been one of the largest beneficiaries under the will. The entry runs—

“Item, sent to Loven by Mr. Lyllly for Greeke bookes to gyve xl s.”

In view of this large purchase of Greek books by the high master of St. Paul's, it is worth noting that in the day book or ledger of John Dorne, an Oxford bookseller, which is preserved in the library of Corpus Christi College at Oxford, are recorded all the books sold by him during the year 1520, the same year as that in which Lily received his bequest. The only Greek books out of over 2000 that John Dorne sold were one volume of Aristophanes, and one volume of Lucian.

Thomas More, in his letter to Peter Giles prefixed to the *Utopia*, and written in 1516, speaks of the “Latin and Greek learning of John Clement,” one of Lily's pupils, at a time when he can but recently have left the school, and the fact that Lupset and Clement, two of Lily's pupils, lectured in succession to each other in Greek at Oxford, makes it impossible to believe that they did not learn at least the rudiments of the language while at St. Paul's less than ten years before.

One writer¹ has with extreme rashness claimed for Winchester College “that there can hardly be a doubt that the school of Grocyn, Chandler, Warham, officially visited by the two latter, took the lead in the introduction of Greek into the curriculum of schools.” Apart from the fact that if Greek was being taught at Winchester at the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Colet would not have provided for a high master with a knowledge of Greek “if such may be gotten,” the only scintilla of evidence adduced in support of this statement lies in the occurrence in the

¹ Leach, *History of Winchester*, p. 229.

Vulgaria, a school-book by a head master of Winchester, of such phrases as "He is singularly well-learned in Greke and Latyn," "We have played a comedi of Greke," "He uttereth goodly his Greke." The book also contains a remark that no poet is equal to Pindar, and at the end appears the word "Telos" instead of Finis. The value of this evidence, however, in its bearing on the date of the introduction of Greek into Winchester is completely demolished by the fact that Horman, its author, ceased to be head master of Winchester in 1502, while R. Pynson's contract for printing it in 1519 has been preserved.¹ Polydore Vergil expressly states that Lily was the first Englishman to teach Greek in England. The truth is that Grocyn lectured in Greek at Oxford in 1491, but although Greek was taught at one of the Universities before Lily began to teach it in London, there is no ground whatever for distrusting the very well-established tradition that St. Paul's was the first public school at which Greek was taught in England. There is every reason to suppose that at Winchester very little Greek was taught in the first half of the sixteenth century. When Edward VI visited the college in 1552 he was presented with no less than forty-two copies of Latin verses, but only one copy of Greek verses. When Elizabeth was at the school eighteen years later she was greeted with forty loyal effusions, of which only four or five were in Greek. Sir Thomas Pope, the founder of Trinity College, Oxford, who was born about 1507, and who cannot have been at school before about 1516, writing in 1556 declares :² "I remember when I was a young scholler at Eton the Greke tongue was growing apace, the studie of which is now a late much decaid." The most probable suggestion is that it was introduced into Eton by Robert

¹ Brewer, *Letters and Papers*, vol. iii. p. 118.

² Warton's *Life*, p. 226.

Aldrich soon after his appointment to the head mastership in 1515.

Warton's comments on the decay of Greek at Eton in the middle of the sixteenth century are borne out by the detailed time table contained in Malim's *Consuetudinarium*, from which it appears that the only attempt at the study of Greek at that date consisted of a little grammar in the sixth and seventh, Lucian's *Dialogues* and Æsop's *Fables* being read by the second and third forms in Latin. It was not till the appointment of Provost Saville to Eton, in 1621, that Greek once again reasserted itself. It is curious that the earliest instance in school statutes—those of Harrow School, in which the directions for the study of Greek are precise and not merely general—bear as late a date as 1590. It may be noted that there Greek was to be studied only in the fifth or head form.

There is no reason to suppose that at St. Paul's, as at Eton, the study of Greek was eclipsed within a half-century after its introduction. Such evidence as there is points to a contrary conclusion. In 1559, Thomas Freeman, after holding the high mastership for ten years, was dismissed, one of the reasons alleged for the action being "lack of the Greek tongue." We shall have occasion later to comment on the probable cause of his dismissal, but the statement as to his ignorance of Greek, whether it was a mere pretext for his dismissal or not, shows that the Mercers were alive to their responsibility for the fulfilment of the injunctions of Colet's statutes. Robert Laneham, who was at St. Paul's, probably under Freeman, less than a half-century after the foundation, says that at school, where he reached the fifth form, he read Æsop and Terence, and began Virgil, a statement which shows that at this time Greek was taught, at least in the four head forms of the school.

Not content with drafting a very careful and complete

body of statutes for the school, Colet proceeded to draw up with his own hands school-books for the use of the boys in the school, and he also persuaded his friends to help him in the task.

On August 1, 1509, and not as has often been said 1510, Colet, from his house in London, wrote the dedication of his *Aeditio* to Lily. An edition of this book, more popularly known as *Paul's Accidence* is said to have been published in 1510,¹ but the first which is now known to be extant is that of 1527, which formerly belonged to Bishop White Kennett, and which is in the Peterborough Cathedral Library. The British Museum contains copies of the editions of 1534, 1535, and 1536. The two latter were printed by Martin Caesar at Antwerp. The edition of 1534 appears to have been one of the last books printed by Wynkyn de Worde before his death.

The Peterborough copy bears on its title-page, "Ioannis Coleti Theologi, olim Decani diui Pauli, aeditio, una cum quibusdam G. Lili Grammatices Rudimenta." As is seen from the title, this little volume, which is also known as "Libellus de constructione octo partium orationis," is a composite production.

It contains (1) a catechism, (2) a short Latin syntax written by Lilly, in the vernacular. This is *Grammatices rudimenta*. It is followed by Colet's *Accidence*, and lastly comes (3) Lily's *Carmen de Moribus*.

With regard to the catechism, it will be remembered that Colet provided in his statutes that before admitting boys to the school the master should "first se that they canne the catechyson." Colet's catechism is itself prefaced by articles of admission which "the mayster shal rehearse to them that offer theyr chyldren."² To these reference has

¹ Wilkinson, *Lond. Illustr.* 1825, p. 8.

² Lupton, *Colet*, p. 285.

already been made. The catechism proper begins with the "Artycles of the Fayth," in which are set out the Apostles' Creed in English, and then an Act of Faith in "the seuen sacramentes of the chirche." Then follow Acts of Charity under the threefold division of "The loue of God, the loue of thyne owne selfe, and the loue of thy neyghbour."

To these are added the following resolutions—

PENAUNCE.

If I fall to synne I shal anon ryse agayne by penance and pure confessyon.

HOWSELINGE.

As often as I shal receyue my lord in sacrament, I shall with al study dispose me to pure clennes & deuocyon.

IN SEKENES.

When I shal dye I shal call for the sacramentes & rygthes of Christes chirche by tymes, and be confessed & receyue my lorde and redemer Jesu Chryst.

IN DETH.

And in peril of deth I shal gladly call to be enealed, and so armed in God I shal departe to hym in truste of his mercy in our lorde Chryst Jesu.

Then come fifty-one "preceptes of lyuynges," of which two—

"Byleue & trust in chryst Jesu,
Worship hym and his moder Mary,"

have reference, no doubt, to the dedication of the school.

The precepts are followed by the "Simbolum Apostolorum," "Oratio Dominica," and "Salutatio Angelica" in Latin.

There follow two prayers, written, there can be little doubt, by Colet himself, the second of which, headed "Oratiuncula ad puerum Jesvm Scholae praesidem," and beginning, "Mi domine Jesv suauissime," is still used in the school every Monday at afternoon prayers. It was only in consequence of the omission of the first from the *Preces* that Lord Clarendon's Commission was able to report in 1864 that the prayers in use at St. Paul's "are such as the strictest Protestant might use." It runs—

"Sancta Maria, uirgo, & mater Jesu, age cum filio tuo, ut haec schola quotidie proficiat in ipso, utque omnes pueri in eadem discant ipsum, & erudiantur in ipso, tandem ut perfecti filii Dei fiant per ipsum. Et tu quoque, Iesu benignissime, age cum patre nostro, ut gratia sui spiritus nos suos filiolos faciat, sic te, Iesu, discere & imitari in hoc saeculo ut una tecum foeliciter regnemus in futuro. Amen."

The prayer beginning "Domine Pater, coeli ac terrae effector," which is found included in many of the later editions of the *Accidence*, was not written by Colet. It occurs also in the old *Preces* of Merchant Taylors' School, but its authorship is unknown.

After the *Oratiuncula*, in the edition of 1527, comes "A lytell proheme to the boke," in which the founder speaks of "the loue and the zeale that I haue vnto the new schole of Poules, and to the children of the same," concluding with the beautiful and well-known passage, which shows the tenderness and simplicity of the founder's mind, "I pray god all may be to his honour, & to the erudicyon and profyt of chyldren my countre men, Londoners specyally, whome dygestyng this lytel werke I had alwaye before myn eyen, consyderynge more what was for them than to shewe ony grete connyng, wylling to speke the thynges often before spoken in such maner as gladli yonge begynnners and tender wyttes myght take & conceyue. Wherefore I praye

you, al lytle babys, al lytel chyldren, lerne gladly this lytle treatyse, and commende it dylygently vnto your memoryes. Trustynge of this begynnynge that ye shal procede and growe to parfyt literature, and come at the last to be gret clarkes. And lyfte vp your lytel whyte handes for me, whiche prayeth for you to god. To whom be al honour and imperyal maieste and glory. Amen."

The strictly grammatical part of Colet's *Aeditio* need not detain us. Lily's *Carmen de Moribus*, which is appended thereto, consists of forty-eight elegiac couplets beginning with the well-known words, "Qui mihi discipulus," and setting out in some detail, in one place the life of the school, and in another a paraphrase of Colet's statutes.

Two interesting translations into English verse of Lily's lines are extant in MS., the one in the British Museum,¹ and the other in the Bodleian.² In the Bodleian there is also to be found³ a curious Latin parody of the same verses, entitled *Carmen de Moribus Anti-Lilianum*, the character of which may be seen from these lines—

"Si Rogitat Doctor, nil respondere caveto
Inter majores, qui tacit ille sapit."

From the fact that the two last-named MSS. are in the collection of Richard Rawlinson, the Old Pauline non-juring bishop, it may be assumed that they were written by boys of St. Paul's.

Linacre wrote a grammatical treatise, *De emendata Structura Latini Sermonis*, which he hoped Colet would make a text-book in his school, but it appears from contemporary letters⁴ that the Dean found the book too prolix

¹ In a copy of Dionysius, *Cato*, 11388, a.

² Rawlinson MSS. D. 1110, p. 153.

³ *Ibid.*, D. 986, p. 16. ⁴ Knight, 123.

and obscure, and thereby incurred Linacre's displeasure, but Erasmus intervened to make peace between the friends.

It is interesting to note, however, that Linacre's Latin grammar, as revised for the use of the Princess Mary, when translated from the vernacular into Latin, was adopted as the standard grammar in France, where it remained in use for many years, just as did that of Lily in England.

Lily's Latin grammar, strictly so called, is not the Latin syntax written in English, appended to Colet's *Accidence*, but a Latin syntax with the rules written in Latin, which appears never to have been printed along with the *Aeditio*. The earliest edition known, of which a copy is preserved in the school library without the printer's name or the place of printing, bears on its title-page, "Absolutissimus de Octo Orationis partiu constructione libellus . . . nuperrime uigilatissima cura recognitus." This shows that it was not the first edition. The Latin letter prefixed to it, addressed by Colet to "Lili charissime," is dated 1513, but the book was printed in 1515, probably at Louvain. Although identified with the name of Lily, Erasmus had such a share in revising the first draft of this grammar that his friend modestly refused to admit the authorship, and it appeared for some time anonymously. The editions of this book which are known to have been produced are far more numerous than those of Colet's *Accidence*. A fragment of an edition of 1521-2, printed by the famous Siberch at Cambridge, was found in the Chapter House at Westminster¹ about twenty years ago. Editions of 1529, 1530 and 1532 are also extant, the last two printed in Paris. A copy of that of 1532 is in the school. To each of these different appendices are added, and the edition of 1539, of which there is in the Pepysian library at Magdalen a copy which Cromleholme, the high master, presented to the diarist, is expressly stated to be "ad

¹ By E. Gordon Duff, *v. Academy*, Nov. 30, 1889.

verum Paulinae scholae exemplum." These diversities furnished a plea for the issue in 1540 by royal authority of a grammar destined to become a national text-book for a longer period than any other that can be named. This combined the *Aeditio* and the *Absolutissimus* into one grammar. A quarto copy of the first edition in vellum, printed by Berthelet, which appears to have been intended for the special use of Edward VI, then aged two, is preserved at Lambeth.¹ Its title is "Institutio compendiarie totius grammaticae, quam . . . Rex noster euulgari jussit, ut non alia quam haec una per totam Angliam pueris praelegeretur." The formulary of religious rudiments prefixed to it is very different from that before Colet's *Accidence*.

On the reverse of the title-page of the edition of 1548, a fragment of which is preserved at Lambeth, is set out the proclamation of that year enjoining that it "shuld be openly and priuately redde to al kynd of lerners in euery gramar schole & other places of techyng, and the same and none other to be vsed." This caused the name of *King Edward VI's Latin Grammar* to be given to it. In 1571 a canon was drawn up and passed by the Upper House of Convocation with the object of making the use of the King's Grammar compulsory.

Three years later, in 1574, it was issued with further alterations and with a new title, *A Shorte Introduction of Grammar generally to be used*, with which is usually bound up *Brevissima Institutio seu Ratio Grammatices*.

This is the form in which it was familiar to Shakespeare, who quotes from it in two of his plays, making Sir Toby Belch, in *Twelfth Night*,² say to Sir Andrew Aguecheek, "Not to be in bed before midnight is to be up betimes, and *diliculo surgere*, thou knowest;" while Holofernes, the pedantic

¹ Maitland, *Early Printed Books*, 1843, pp. 207-385, 415.

² Act II. sc. iii.

school-master in *Love's Labour's Lost*,¹ quotes another of its familiar phrases, saying, "If their sons be ingenious they shall want no instruction. . . . But vir sapit qui pauca loquitur." A copy of this edition is preserved among John Selden's books in the Bodleian. It is possible that it was presented to him by the high master of St. Paul's, with whom he was on terms of close friendship.

The further history of the book is not without interest. In 1675 there was read for the first time in the House of Lords a Bill which was not proceeded with, which aimed at effecting uniformity in school-books, and which proposed to punish school-masters for using other grammars than those of Lily and Camden in Latin and Greek respectively.²

In 1732 the booksellers of London employed Dr. John Ward to draw up a revised edition of Lily's Grammar, and, just a quarter of a century later, it underwent a final change, when it was once more transformed and appropriated by Eton, under the title of the *Eton Latin Grammar*.

Charles Lamb, who used this version of the grammar at Christ's Hospital in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, in his essay on *The Old and the New Schoolmaster* pokes gentle fun at the stately English of the preamble, in which is set out how, "by the King's Majestie's wisdom," a uniformity is to be desired in the grammars which shall be in use. "With what a savour," writes Elia, "doth the preface to Colet's, or (as it is sometimes called) Paul's Accidence, set forth!"

Goldsmith, in his *Essay on Education*, written in 1759, says: "Of all the various grammars now taught in the schools about town, I would recommend only the old common one: I have forgot whether Lily's or an amendment of him."

¹ Act IV. sc. ii.

² Hist. MS. Com., 9th Rep. App. 2, 1884, p. 63.

In addition to the *Accidence* and the *Syntax* which Colet took care to have prepared for his school, he persuaded Erasmus to dedicate his Latin phrase-book, *Copia Verborum et Rerum*, to St. Paul's, in 1520; and it appears that Richard Pace's *De Fructu qui ex Doctrina Precipitur*, which was published in 1517, was also intended for the use of Paulines from the following passage at the conclusion of the work: "Haec sunt, mi Colete, quibus studiosos literarum juvenes ad doctrinam amplexandam hortendos instruendos que putavi. Quae si tibi vel juvenibus tuis, qui per te publice erudiuntur, placere intellexero, operam me non luisse judicabo."

Colet refers in his statutes to the translation into Latin verse of his *Catechyzon*, where he speaks of "Institutum Christiani hominis which that learnyd Erasmus made at my request," and from the same pen came the Carmen Iambicum which was hung up in the "proscholion."

The Sapphic ode beginning—

"Sedes haec puero sacra est Jesu,"

which was placed above the representation of the Child Jesus, was also written by Erasmus, as was the distich which stood below it, and ran—

"Discite me primum, pueri, atque effingite puris
Moribus, inde pias addite literulas."

Further, the Dutch scholar wrote two prayers for use in the school, of which one, beginning "Audi preces meas," is for "docility, aptness and application to learning;" while the other invokes a blessing upon the parents of the boys.

Colet provided in his statutes—"All these Chyldren shall euery Chyldermasse day come to paulis church and here the Chylde Bishoppis sermon, and after be at the hye

masse and eche of them offre a j d. to the Childe Bishoppe and with them the Maisters and surueyors of the scole."

This provision, which has aroused much criticism of Colet's approval of an ancient custom, merely follows the precedents set by the statutes of Winchester and Eton, which provide for the election of an *Episcopus Puerorum*. Any one who has heard the sermons delivered by little children at Christmas before the *presepe* in Santa Maria in Aracoeli, or those pronounced on Sunday evenings throughout the year in the sacristy of the Chiesa Nuova, the Church of the Filippini, or Oratorians, in Rome, will not be surprised at Colet's approbation of a practice which, so far from being a burlesque of sacred things, is from its very simplicity at once edifying and impressive.

The *Concio* of Erasmus proves that the boy-bishop was, at least on one occasion, chosen from Colet's school, and has some bearing on the suggested inter-communication between that school and the cathedral choir, in view of the fact that the choice of a boy-bishop was as a rule restricted to the choristers at St. Paul's, as in other cathedrals.

The full title of Erasmus' little sermon, which bears on its title-page the statement that it was "to be pronounced of a child unto children," is *Concio de puero Jesu, pronuntiata a puero in schola Coletica nuper instituta Londini*.

The exact date of the foundation of his school by Colet is necessarily shrouded in uncertainty owing to the different steps leading up to its establishment from which various writers have reckoned.

Polydore Vergil,¹ who was a neighbour of Lily in St. Paul's Churchyard in 1522, and was on terms of intimacy with the high master, records the foundation of the school in the last year of the reign of Henry VII. The account of Alexander Nevyl, which names the year 1508,

¹ Ed. 1570, p. 618.

agrees with this. George Lily, although he names 1509 as the year of the foundation of the school, in his account of his father, the first high master, who died in 1522, speaks of him as having held office for fifteen years, which would make the date of the foundation 1507, unless, indeed, Lily was master of the "olde scole," which, as we have seen, it is possible Colet incorporated in the new. In Grafton's *Chronicle*, published in 1569, the earliest account of the school apart from that of Erasmus, who gives no date, the year of foundation is stated to have been 1509. Lastly, Holinshed and Cooper name the year 1510.

In an ancient book in the possession of the Mercers' Company, entitled *Evidences of Dean Colet's Lands*, stated by the inscription on the back to be "of great value," and to have been "saved from the fire in London in 1666," in which many deeds and other instruments are to be found, there occurs a preface headed, *Prefaciuncula Johis Colet in hujus libri cotenta*, which begins, "I, John Colet . . . in the yere of our Lord God a thousand five hundred and eight, beganne to edifye in the est ende of the church-yerd of Paulis a scole-house of stone for children theryn to be tawght free to the nowmbre of an hundreth fyfty and three." The same document¹ goes on to relate that he also built a mansion adjoining for the masters, and "in the year a thousand five hundreth and twelft full accomplished and finyshed the same scole and mansion in every poynt."

Erasmus speaks of him as "building a new school in the churchyard of St. Paul . . . to which he added two handsome dwelling-houses." A deed which is extant speaks of the school as "built," and of the master's house as "to be built." The inscription over the door of his first school is said by Strype to have borne the date "anno Christi MDX," and this statement is borne out by the fact that the Minutes or

¹ Report of Commissioners on Charities, 1820.

Acts of the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company throughout the year 1510 contain marginalia referring to entries, "For the Schole of Poule's," or "For the Schole House at Poule's," or "Master Doctor Colet of Poule's for the Schole;" and the cessation of these entries in the autumn of that year makes it very improbable that more than twelve months were allowed to elapse before the school was actually in working order. The latter assumption has been made both by Mr. Gardiner and Dr. Lupton on the evidence of a list of high masters and "submasters" extending to the year 1637, which is found appended to one of the copies of Colet's statutes preserved at Mercers' Hall, the first entry on which is as follows: "1512, Will Lilie, high Mr., placed by ye Founder. Thomas Persy, submaster;" but as there is no reason to suppose that the MS. is contemporary with the foundation, its evidence as to exact dates is of very little value, while the fact that on August 10, 1509, Colet dedicated his *Aeditio* to Lily, of whom he wrote, "Qui primus es huius novae Pauli scholae praeceptor," proves conclusively that the school was in full working order before that date.

The earliest and most valuable account of the school which is extant is contained in the letter written from Anderlecht by Erasmus to his friend Justus Jonas, shortly after Colet's death in 1519. The following extract is a translation—

"Upon the death of the father of Colet, when by right of inheritance he was possessed of a considerable sum of money, lest the keeping of it should corrupt his mind and turn it too much to the world, he laid out a great part of it in building a new school in the churchyard of St. Paul dedicated to the Child Jesus, a magnificent fabric; to which he added two handsome dwelling-houses for the two several masters, to whom he assigned

ample salaries, that they might teach a certain number of boys gratuitously. He divided the school into four apartments. The first is the porch or entrance for catechumens (or children to be instructed in the principles of religion); and no child is admitted there, unless he can already read and write. The second apartment is for the Hypodidascalus (or usher). The third is for those who are more learned (under the high master). Which former parts of the school are divided from the other by a curtain, which can be drawn or undrawn at pleasure. Over the master's chair is seated a figure of the Child Jesus, of excellent work, in the act of teaching; whom all the assembly both at coming in and going out of school salute with a short hymn. There is also a representation of God the Father, saying, 'Hear ye him': but these words were written there at my recommendation. The last apartment is a little chapel adapted to divine service. Throughout the school there are neither corners nor hiding-places; nor anything like a cell or a closet. The boys have each their distinct forms or benches rising in regular gradations and spaces one over another. Of these every class contains sixteen, and he who is most excellent in his class has a kind of small desk by way of eminence. All children are not to be admitted as a matter of course, but are to be selected according to their parts and capacities."¹

In connection with this last proviso we have seen that the founder required that before admission a boy should have a knowledge of the Catechism, and of reading and writing. As late as the middle of the eighteenth century boys were taught to read at Eton, where no such qualification was required, in the lowest division, which was called the Bible Seat.

On entering St. Paul's boys were taught the Catechism

¹ S. Knight, *Colet*, 1823.

in Latin and the elements of Latin grammar in the vestibule or porch of catechumens of which Erasmus speaks.

This ante-room, which appears to have adjoined the high master's house, contained, according to John Strype, an Old Pauline, an inscription which ran—

“Hoc Vestibulo catechizentur pueri in fide moribusque Christianis neque non prius grammatices rudimentis instituantur, priusquam ad proximam hujus scholae classem admittantur.”

Over the door which led into the schoolroom were the words, “Ingredere ut proficias,” and on the windows of the schoolroom were the words, “Doce aut Disce aut Discede,” “which,” says Strype, “I remember the upper master used often to inculcate upon such scholars as were idle or negligent.”

As to the arrangement of seats in the schoolroom, on Erasmus' enumeration there was room for only 128 boys. It is well known that there were 153 places in the school, and the division of the school into five classes of eighteen, and three lower ones of twenty-one boys is attributed (perhaps erroneously) to the founder.

The statutes provided that “In euery fforme one principall chylde shalbe plasid in the chere president of that fforme,” and an old translation of Lily's *Carmen de Moribus* sets out the arrangement in these words—¹

“For as each on doth well excell in giftes of learning grete,
Soe shall he stille be set above in a more hiare seate.”

The high master's seat was at the south end of the schoolroom.

A great deal of uncertainty surrounds the question of the school chapel. I have never found any document to suggest that Colet built it, and I am inclined to believe that he

¹ Rawlinson MSS. Bodley, D. 986, p. 16.

took over an existing chapel dedicated to Our Lady and St. John, and obtained leave to make it part of his foundation.

The popular idea is that it was a small room occupied only by the celebrating priest and adjoining the south of the schoolroom, the doors of which were left open during the celebration of mass. Colet enacted in his statutes that "whenne the bell in the scole shall knyll to sacring," the children should all kneel, and that after the Consecration and Elevation "they shall sitt downe ageyn to theyr lernyng."

In view of a reference in a deed executed by Colet on August 8, 1513, to a "chapel . . . near the school," it seems to me very doubtful whether it really adjoined the school at all, and my suggestion is that possibly a few houses intervened between it and the south side of the school.

That the school buildings were completed by the year 1512 is fully proved by the mention of that date not only in the *Prefaciuncula*, but also in a copy of the statutes headed in Latin, "This little book I John Colet, gave into the hands of Master Lily the eighteenth day of June in the Year of Our Lord 1518. The Prologue of John Colet, Founder of the School by his own hand"—"John Colett, the sonne of Henrye Colett, Deane of St. Paule's desiring nothyng more than education and bringing uppe children in good manners and literature, in the yere of our Lorde a M. fyve hundreth, and twelfe, bylded a Schole in the est ende of Paulis Church, of cliii boys to be taught fre in the same."

Colet himself, in his *Prefaciuncula*, says that he "bielled a mansion adjoynyng to the saide scole at the north side for the maister to dwell yn."

We can obtain a fair notion of the accommodation of the high master's house from various documents in which

its rooms are set out in detail. These sources of information are : Colet's statutes of 1518 ; the statement which is extant as to the accommodation which William Lily, the first high master, could give to the suite of the Emperor Charles V ; a list of rooms, an inventory of "implements" for which is given in the accounts for 1592 ; the fragment of an indenture made between Richard Mulcaster (who became high master in 1596) and the Mercers ; and, finally, a glazier's bill of 1584.

From these we can gather that the high master's house had cellars and a coal-house, and on the ground floor a hall adjoining the vestibulum or entrance to the school, a kitchen, and a buttery. On the first floor was the high master's dining-room, two other rooms of which he had the use, and another buttery. As to the second floor, Colet expressly enjoined on the high master that "touching all the story of chaumbers next underneath the galaris he shall nothyng meddle withall."

On the floor above this Colet gave the high master the use of "the little middle chaumber and the galary in the soughside." In Mulcaster's time the high master had also the right to use the northernmost garret, and this probably gave him the use of the whole of the attics. It will be asked what was the purpose for which the second floor was used. It is possible that in Colet's time some of the rooms were used as muniment rooms, but by 1584 one of them at least was used for the accommodation of boarders, since the glazier's bill for that year refers to the "borders' chamber." It is possible that it was a large room occupying nearly the whole of the second floor, but the same document, curiously enough, affords a clue to the purpose for which another room on this floor was used, for in it the glazier refers to the "posing chamber."

This fact explains what has hitherto been a puzzling

point in an entry in Pepys' *Diary*, where he writes¹: "Back again to Paul's School, and went *up* to see the head form posed in Latin, Greek and Hebrew, but I think they did not answer so well as we did, only in Geography they did pretty well. Dr. Wilkins and Outram were examiners. So *down* to the School."

It is quite evident from this that a special room in the high master's house was, even down to the time of the Great Fire, set apart for the annual apposition or examination of the boys.

The provisions under the title *De Submagistro*, in the statutes, declare that on the election of the surmaster the Mercers shall "assigne hym his lodging in the old chaunge," and further provide that "he shall goe to comyns with the hye mayster yf he may conveniently." Erasmus says, "Adjecit aedes magnificas in quibus agerent duo ludimagistri," and Grafton, writing forty years after the foundation of the school, says, "He builded also two faire tenements joining to the said schoole for the said Master and Usher to inhabite in."

There can be little doubt that the surmaster's house was the last part of the school which was built. From the archives of the City of London² it appears that in 1511 Colet was in negotiation with the Court of Aldermen for the purchase "of certen grounde of the citie for an entre to be hadde into his new gramer scole," and in January 1512 he got the assent of the Court of Aldermen and of the Common Council to the purchase by him of "a certen grounde in the Olde Chaunge for the inlargyng of his gramer scole in Powlys Churcheyerd" for the sum of £30. The conveyance took place in the following September, and the deed was sealed with the common seal on October 7. The

¹ February 4, 1662.

² R. Sharpe, *London and the Kingdom*, i. 351.

glazier's bill of 1584 gives us some notion of the size of the surmaster's house. It shows that it consisted of a hall, a kitchen, and a study next the school building, all of which were probably on the ground floor. On the first floor there appears to have been "the second master's chaumber, the study chaumber, and the little chaumber." The conveyance of which we have just spoken suggests that there was an entrance to the school from Old Change. The glazier's bill bears this out, for it speaks of a "lodge," which was certainly not on the front or west side of the school. We know that in 1578 there was employed "a pore man, the Porter of the Schole," who lived in a little house adjoining the east end of the cathedral. By 1588 his tenement had been turned into the under usher's house; we may therefore presume that the lodge spoken of in the glazier's bill drawn up four years earlier, was at that time the porter's residence, and it may have been one of the houses in Old Change adjoining that of the surmaster, of which Colet had obtained possession for the school. There seems good reason to suppose that in the original buildings the passage from the high master's house into the school led through the surmaster's house, for in 1576 it appears that a door "which bred much contention between Malym and Holden," who were respectively high master and surmaster, was altered, and "the coming out of Malim's house into the school was turned another way into the vestibule." As to the chaplain's residence, the statutes provide that "His chaumber and lodging shalbe in the newe howsse in the olde chayn or in the maistres loginge as shalbe thought best." To this the copy of the statutes in the British Museum¹ adds the words "free without any payment." The "newe howsse" is obviously one of those referred to in Colet's will of 1514 as "those my two tenements or

¹ Add. MSS. 6274.

messuages newly built . . . now in the tenure of John Evers, citizen and haberdasher of London, situate in the Old Change, London."

On the first appointment of a chaplain he received for the rent of his chamber ten shillings per annum, which was subsequently increased to thirteen and fourpence. It remained fixed at this rate until the year 1588, in which the porter's lodging over against the cathedral was enlarged and turned into a residence for the chaplain, or, as he was now called, the under usher.

Of the external appearance of Colet's school-building we have very little information. No satisfactory view is known to be extant. From the statement of John Strype, who was educated in the school before the Great Fire, and who lived to see the building of 1670, it appears that the second building was very similar in appearance to the first.

The small bird's-eye view of the original building which is to be seen in the plan of London, Westminster and Southwark, engraved by Ralph Agas in 1591, bears out Strype's statement, in that the school appears to have had a central building of one storey, while at each end houses of several storeys were adjoining.

That the building erected by Dean Colet was unusually handsome is beyond question. George Lily speaks of "scholam publicam, eleganti structura." Both Alexander Nevyl and Polydore Vergil describe it as "magnificam scholam;" another writer¹ refers to it as "scholam illam egregiam quae Paulina dicitur," which may or may not refer to the building, but Stow speaks of it as having been "built in a most ample manner."

In his letter to Justus Jonas, Erasmus speaks of St. Paul's as "ludum literarium longe pulcherrimum, ac magnificentissimum," and in the dedication to *De Copia* he speaks

¹ *Antiq. Brit.*, sub. Will. Warham, ed. Hanover, p. 306.

in praise of Colet's "*sumptus tam ingentes.*" According to Anthony à Wood the building cost 4,500 marks, that is to say, £3,000, or in modern reckoning at least £36,000, while the rental of the lands which formed the endowment was more than £120 a year, or in modern reckoning about £1,465.

It is not surprising, in view of such generosity, that Colet, shortly before his death, wrote to Erasmus, saying that he had scarcely sufficient income left upon which to live.



William Lilly

First Master of Saint Pauls school

[E. Edwards sc.]

WILLIAM LILLY, FIRST HIGH MASTER

[To face p. 68.]

CHAPTER V

THE FIRST HIGH MASTER, WILLIAM LILY, 1509-1522

WILLIAM LILY, the first high master of St. Paul's, appointed to the post, as was natural, by Colet himself, was born at Odyham, a little country town in Hampshire, situate between Farnborough and Basingstoke. It is possible that he was educated at Winchester, but of this there is no proof. In 1486 he was a demy of Magdalen College, Oxford—a fact which fixes the date of his birth somewhere between 1466 and 1470. The fact that he was a godson of Grocyn, at that time divinity reader at Magdalen, provides a reason for his entry at that college. Colet himself is said to have been at Magdalen, and it therefore appears more than probable that both he and Lily were contemporaries at the college, Colet being slightly the senior of the two.

After graduating at Oxford, Lily, like the rest of his contemporaries who took their share in effecting the revival of learning in England, set out for the Continent. He suffered privations while studying at Venice. He is known to have visited Jerusalem. On his way back he stayed for some time at Rhodes, where he learnt Greek from the refugees in that island. From there he returned as far as Rome, where he continued his Greek studies, his masters—the Lilies of Lily—as Fuller quaintly describes them, being the two celebrated scholars, Sulpicius, and Pomponius Sabinus, the founder of the Accademia Romana.

While there he acquired not only a knowledge of Latin and Greek, but also of the antiquities of classical times, for which in later years he was noted, which accounts for the fact that John Evelyn,¹ in recommending to Lord Chancellor Clarendon a list of learned men whose names might adorn his house, named Lily next after Edmund Spenser.

On his return to England, Lily, although still a layman, was presented to the rectory of Holcot by John Kendal, the prior of the hospital of St. John of Jerusalem.² That he was contemplating the priesthood, as was Thomas More, with whom about this time he lived in the London Charter-house, appears from the statement as to the future Chancellor,³ "meditabatur adolescens sacerdotium cum suo Lilio." The grammarian, however, resigned his benefice in 1495 and subsequently married. His epitaph⁴ on his wife, Agnes, records the fact that she died at the age of thirty-seven, after seventeen years of married life, but does not state the year in which she died. He was the father by her of fifteen children, only two of whom—to whom we shall have occasion to refer later—survived him, while most of the others, along with their mother, seem to have fallen victims to the plague, probably in 1517.

At More's request, Lily translated from the Italian a singular treatise on divination by throws of dice, and the two friends joined in friendly rivalry in translating epigrams from the Greek Anthology into Latin elegiacs, which were published in 1518 at Basle under the title of *Progymnasmata Thomae Mori et Gulielmi Lili Sodalium*. A letter which More wrote to Colet shows how close was the intimacy between the lawyer and the grammarian, for in it

¹ *Diary*, Dec. 20, 1668.

² Lansdowne MSS. 979, f. 32.

³ Stapletoni Tres Thomae, ed. 1689, p. 7.

⁴ Harleian MSS. 540, f. 58.

More declared that he was devoting himself to the society of Grocyn, Linacre and Lily. The first he called the master of his life, the second the director of his studies, and the third the dear companion of his affairs.

Before being appointed by Colet to his school, Lily was engaged in teaching in London, possibly at the “old schole” of Paul’s. In 1506 he wrote *Ad Philipum Archiducem Carmen*, an address—which may well have been presented by his boys—to the Archduke Philip, who was driven ashore at Weymouth with his wife Joanna, a daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella, while making a voyage from Flanders to Spain.

It is impossible to exaggerate the esteem in which Lily was held by his contemporaries. Richard Pace, in the epistle dedicatory of *De Fructu* to Colet, writes—¹

“Si quidē hinc et non aliunde, sentiunt omnes celeberrimū illud ludi literarii tui, quem Londini erexisti et pulcherrime sustentas monumentū prodiisse. Et (quod ipsi scholae non est postponendū ne dicam praeferendū) curasti ut honestissimus et peritissimus vir, pueros adolescentesque, erudiat . . . Habent enim praeceptorem cujus vita, moresque sunt probatissimi.”

To Polydore Vergil, the first high master was “Lilius, vir quemadmodum dicit Horatius integer vitae scelerisque purus,” while the lines written upon him by his son-in-law, surmaster and successor, deserve quotation—

“Vivere perpetuis si possunt nomina chartis
Ac cineri quenquam est fas superesse suo.
Crede tuo hoc, Lili, doctrinae munere claro
Dignus es aeterna posteritate frui.”²

Erasmus described Lily as “honestissimus simul et peritissimus vir,” while in a letter written by him in 1514, with reference to a boy whose father had been complaining of his

¹ 1517.

² Knight, *Colet*, 1823, p. 317.

lack of proficiency, he declared that the boy "has learnt more Latin in three years than he would if he had been educated at any school, not excepting Lily's."¹

There is a reference in Camden's *Britannia*² to the discovery at Stonehenge of a piece of metal inscribed "in so strange a character that neither Sir Thomas Elyot nor Master Lilye, schoole-master at St. Paule's, could read it."

Traces of two literary feuds in which Lily was involved have been preserved. The first was waged against John Skelton, the poet laureate, whom Erasmus had praised for his learning in 1500. The high master's hostility was perhaps due to the fact that Skelton disapproved of the study of Greek, which was being pursued at Oxford. We know, at any rate, that, addressing the laureate, he declared, "*Doctrinam nec habes, nec es poeta.*"

Towards the end of the high master's life, he and William Horman, who had been head master both of Eton and of Winchester, defended their method of teaching Latin against the attacks of Robert Whittington, another school-master, who called himself Bossus. The counterblast of Lily and Horman, which they named *Antibossicon*, made puns on their adversary's *nom de guerre*, which, they said, was derived from the bosse of Billingsgate—a fountain in the shape of a bear. Nothing could have been a more appropriate type of the style in which the controversy was carried on than a Billingsgate bear, and it is curious to observe that the language of that locality had the same sort of reputation in the sixteenth century as that which it enjoys to-day.³ Reference is made to the controversy in the epigram written by John Constable, one of Lily's pupils, entitled "*In Bossum Lilio-mastigem.*"

¹ Brewer, vol. i. 5731.

² Camden, *Britannia*, ed. 1610, p. 251.

³ Maitland, *Early Prtd. Bks. at Lambeth*, pp. 415-9.

Lily did not long survive Colet. His death, which occurred in 1522, was accelerated by an injudicious operation which was performed in spite of Linacre's advice to the contrary. He was buried in the Pardon churchyard, adjoining the cathedral. After Lord Protector Somerset had destroyed the cloister which was there, Lily's son, George, caused the tablet from his tomb to be set up with an additional inscription on the inner wall of the cathedral, near the north door.

The ground for believing that Colet took Lily from the cathedral grammar school and placed him in the new school which he founded in its stead, is to be seen in the *Elogia* of George Lily, the high master's son. After speaking of his appointment to St. Paul's the account goes on, "Quo in munere annis quindecim ita exercuit vernacula coxa," a statement, coming from the best possible authority, which implies that Lily began teaching at St. Paul's in 1507, a year before Colet began to build his school.

Everything points to the fact that the founder was satisfied with the man whom he had chosen as high master, and whom Polydore Vergil described as "learned, of good manners, and the greatest diligence." Colet, in dedicating his *Accidence* to him, addressed him as "Optime ac literatissime Lili," and the scholastic reputation of Lily and Rightwise, his surmaster, is seen from the fact that epigrams from their pens, together with one from that of Aldrich, the head master of Eton, were prefixed to the *Vulgaria* of William Horman, a school-book published in 1519 by a scholar who had been in turn head master of Winchester and of Eton.

Something must be said about Lily's assistant masters—"electissimi ac probatissimi praeceptores," as Erasmus calls them in the dedication to *De Copia*.

Of the first surmaster, Thomas Percy, nothing is known

except his name. His successor, Maurice Birchinshaw, who is referred to in the school accounts as "Master Morris," was appointed in 1515, and it may well be that he was recommended to Colet by Erasmus, for it is not unlikely that it is to him that the latter refers when he begs to ask in an extant letter¹ to Ammonius dated September 1513, "What has become of Maurice"? Birchinshaw was a Bachelor of Grammar of Oxford who had taught in the school adjoining Magdalen College great gate. It is on record that in the year of his appointment to St. Paul's, "Maurice Birchinshaw, the celebrated grammarian, was admitted B.C.L." He remained at St. Paul's only two years, and of his career there nothing is known, if we except the suggestion that it was to him that John Constable addressed the epigram—

"Nunc scio, Maurici, placuit tibi culta vetustas
Quod delegisti fertile gymnasium.
Nempe virum expectat te clara Britannia talem
Qualis erat Romæ Tullius ipse suae."

Soon after leaving the school he was engaged as tutor to a boy who was a protégé of Wolsey,² and a letter to the Cardinal dated from Louvain³ has been preserved, in which he acknowledges the receipt of others from his Eminence, which state that the pains taken by the tutor in educating the boy have pleased the Cardinal, though they are far from satisfying him.

Having been presented to various livings Birchinshaw became Prebendary, first of Wells and then of St. Asaph. The latter stall he held until his death in 1564. The only record of him in the later years of his life which has been found, is the fact that he was, in 1540, among those members of the united convocations of the two provinces of York

¹ Brewer, vol. i. 4427.

² Brewer, vol. ii., pt. ii., 1518, 4692.

³ Brewer, vol. iii., pt. i., Nov. 1519, 525.

and Canterbury, who declared the nullity of the marriage of Henry VIII with Anne of Cleves.¹

Whether Birchinshaw was recommended to Colet by Erasmus or not, it is certain that, like his predecessor and his successor, who also was appointed in the founder's lifetime, he was a nominee of Dean Colet. This fact is suggested by the absence in the Mercers' Hall of notices of the appointment of masters before 1522, when the first change in the staff after Colet's death took place, and it is further borne out by a letter² of the Dean's to Erasmus dated 1513, in which he declares how much he wishes to have Erasmus for a master in his school, but when he leaves Cambridge he hopes to have his aid in training his masters, and goes on to say that he wishes Erasmus to look out an under master for him, who will not give himself airs nor disdain to be under the high master. To this Erasmus replied that when he broached the subject of an under master among certain Masters of Arts, one said, "Who would be a school-master that could live any other way?"

To this Erasmus answered that teaching the young was a very creditable occupation, and that a man could nowhere work with a better prospect of success than at St. Paul's, in the heart of the city, and the centre of the kingdom.

The fact that no chaplain was appointed to the school until 1523 may probably be explained by the assumption that Colet himself said Mass in the school chapel, or provided a priest out of his household to celebrate there in his stead.

In June 1522, a few months before Lily's death, occurred the first recorded instance of the presentation of an address by the boys of St. Paul's School to a distinguished visitor to the City of London, in the

¹ Brewer, vol. xv., 1540, 861.

² Brewer, vol. i., Sept. 1513, 4448; *ibid.*, 4528.

course of the passage of his procession through St. Paul's Churchyard.

The occasion of this address was the visit of the Emperor Charles V. The speech which was made to the sovereign has been lost, but the copy of congratulatory verses has been preserved, and is to be seen among the Harleian MSS.¹ It is said by George Lily to have been "a puero in foro pronuntiata."

The visit of the Emperor is of further interest to us from the fact that there is extant² among the lists, showing the available accommodation in the city for the imperial suite, one which gives the number of rooms in the high master's house which could be put at their disposal. The entry runs "Maister Lyly, scole maister. i. hall, iiij chambers, iiij feather beddes, i. kitchen and other necessities."

The first of Lily's pupils to achieve distinction was John Clement, whose education at the school is a token of the close friendship which subsisted between Sir Thomas More and the first high master. It was of him that the future Lord Chancellor, in the epistle to Peter Giles prefixed to the *Utopia*, wrote, "John Clement my boye, whome I suffer to be awaye from no talke wherein ther may be any profyte or goodnes, for out of this yonge bladed and new shotte up corne, whiche hathe alreadye begon to spring up both in Latin and Greke learnyng, I loke for plentifull increase at length of goodly rype grayne." In the following September More wrote to Erasmus, "Colet is working hard at Greek with some help from my Clement."

Three years later "Clemens meus," as More affectionately called him, was chosen to read Wolsey's Rhetoric Lectures at Oxford, and "being singularly seen in the Greek tongue," was also engaged to deliver the Greek

¹ Harl. MSS. 540 ; Strype's *Hist. Colls.* 57 ; Pauline, vol. xiii. p. 520.

² Camden. Soc. *Rutland Papers*, 1842-3, p. 87.

lectures in the same university. He acted as tutor to Margaret, More's daughter, who, as Margaret Roper, wrote the well-known beautiful account of her father's life and death, and he cemented his connection with the great Chancellor's family by his marriage with More's adopted daughter, Margaret Giggs, on the occasion of which his school-fellow Leland wrote an epithalamium. To his classical scholarship Clement added distinction in the medical profession, and following in the footsteps of his friend Linacre, became President of the College of Physicians. Clement, as was to be expected from an adopted son of Thomas More, strongly opposed the Reformation. He left England during the reign of Edward VI, and although he returned on the accession of Queen Mary, on her death he once again retired abroad, and died at Mechlin, in Brabant, in 1572.

From the point of view of pure scholarship, the second of the pupils of William Lily to achieve distinction was Thomas Lupset, the son of a goldsmith in London, who was born about 1495, and must accordingly have been one of the first to enter the school under Lily. He is said to have acted as amanuensis to Colet, who referred to him as "My scholar" in his will, by which he bequeathed to him his books; and the share of the Dean in his education is borne out by a reference to him in the Lansdowne MSS.¹ as "*sub Coletto ac Lilio in literis probe educatus et Graeco et Latino peritus.*" He was supported at Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, by Colet, and after leaving the University accompanied Richard Pace on his embassy to Venice in 1515. After graduating at Paris, he returned to England in 1519, and went into residence at Corpus, Oxford, where he occupied the Chair of Rhetoric and Humanity founded by Wolsey, and three years later succeeded John Clement as Greek Reader. The tenure of the readership in Greek by

¹ 979, p. 85.

two Paulines in succession affords strong evidence that at St. Paul's alone among the three existing public schools was Greek to any serious degree a subject of education.

In 1523 Lupset visited Padua in company with Reginald Pole, whose friendship he had made in Italy eight years before, and in the same year he received a benefice in Essex. This was followed by several other preferments which culminated in a prebendal stall at Salisbury. He died of consumption in 1530, at the early age of thirty-six, and, if one may judge by the opinion held of him by his contemporaries, the reputation which he achieved even in his short life was one of the highest among those of the leaders of the new learning.

It was of him that Erasmus wrote, "*hujus ingenio nihil gratius nihil amantius.*" Harpsfield, the ecclesiastical historian who became Regius Professor of Greek in the middle of the sixteenth century, describes how, while still a boy at Winchester, he attended the funeral of Foxe, the founder of Corpus Christi College, Oxford, at which were present among others, Reginald Pole, Richard Pace, and "Thomas Lupsetus egregie eruditus," while a further indication of the esteem in which he was held as a humanist by his contemporaries is to be found in the colophon of a posthumously published translation of a sermon of St. John Chrysostom, a black letter of 1542, the first of his works to be issued in this country, which is expressed as having been "translated into Englysshe by the floure of lerned menne in his tyme, Thomas Lupsette, Londoner." In addition to other religious works which he published, he rendered much assistance to his learned friends in their labours, and supervised the issue of Linacre's editions of Galen's medical treatises, and prepared and corrected for the press the second edition of Thomas More's *Utopia*.¹

No less than three of the leading statesmen of the Tudor

¹ Wood, *Ath.*, vol. ii., pt. ii., p. 838.



Hilton del.

[Meyer sc.]

EDWARD, FIRST LORD NORTH

[To face p. 78.]

sovereigns were educated at St. Paul's under Lily. Edward North, the first of these, who was born in 1496, was the son of a citizen and mercer of London. From St. Paul's he went to Peterhouse, and having been called to the Bar, became counsel for the city of London. In 1531 he became Clerk of Parliament, and in 1536 one of the King's Serjeants. In 1541 he was knighted and sat in Parliament for Cambridgeshire. Three years later he was a Commissioner of the Great Seal. In 1546 he was sworn of the Privy Council, and was named one of the executors of the will of Henry VIII, under which he received a bequest. Although he was one of the supporters of "Queen Jane," he was pardoned by Queen Mary, and in 1554 was raised to the peerage under the title of Lord North of Kirtling. He placated Elizabeth on her accession by sumptuous entertainments at his mansion in the Charterhouse, where he died in 1564, leaving benefactions to the University of Cambridge and to Peterhouse.

Anthony Denny, who was five years younger than North, was the second son of Sir Edmund Denny, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. He left school to go to St. John's College, Cambridge. Henry VIII, having heard of his merits, summoned him to Court and made him King's Remembrancer and Groom of the Stole. He was knighted in 1544, and, like his school-fellow, Edward North, he was sworn of the Privy Council, received grants of the estates of the dissolved monasteries, and was one of the executors of the King's will, by which he was appointed counsellor to Edward VI and left a substantial legacy. He was a zealous promoter of the Reformation and a generous benefactor to Sedbergh School. Sir Anthony Denny sat for Hertfordshire in Edward VI's first Parliament, and on his death in 1549 the Earl of Surrey wrote an elegy in his memory.

The third statesman educated by Lily was William

Paget, who for more than twenty years held a foremost place in English history. He was son of a Serjeant-at-mace in London. He was supported at Trinity Hall by members of the Boleyn family, and entered the household of Stephen Gardiner. In 1529 he was sent abroad to collect opinions from the universities on the subject of the King's divorce, and after serving on various other missions on the Continent was appointed secretary to Anne of Cleves. In 1541 he was sworn of the Privy Council and became Secretary of State, acting as one of the chief advisers of the King during the closing years of his reign. He was consulted about Henry VIII's will, and, like North and Denny, received a legacy from the sovereign, and was appointed one of the governors of the young prince during his minority. Protector Somerset made him Knight of the Garter and Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster in 1547, and two years later he was created Lord Paget of Beaudesart, and President of Wales. In 1551 his enemies succeeded in depriving him of his offices, and although he was on the Privy Council of "Queen Jane," he veered round and was one of the first to welcome Mary, by whom he was restored to his official positions. Philip, with whom Paget was a great favourite, urged Mary to make him Lord Chancellor in place of Stephen Gardiner, but the Queen refused on the ground that he was a layman, and appointed him Lord Privy Seal, a post which he resigned in favour of Sir Nicholas Bacon on the accession of Queen Elizabeth. Lord Paget was twice High Steward of the University of Cambridge. His monument was erected in Lichfield Cathedral.

John Leland, the last of the learned men educated by Lily, was born in London about 1506. In an encomium inscribed "ad Thomam Milonem" he acknowledged the generosity of a patron, one Thomas Myles, who paid all



[G. Grignion sc.]

JOHN LELAND, KING'S ANTIQUARY

From a bust in the Hall at All Souls'.

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the expenses of his education. From St. Paul's he went to Christ's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1522. He then migrated to All Souls', and went with an exhibition from Henry VIII to study at the University of Paris. In 1533 he was made King's Antiquary, and, as became a personal adherent of Henry VIII, he championed the new religious establishment. He became a Canon of King's College, Oxford, as Christ Church was then called, and by his *Itinerary* earned for himself the title of the Father of English Antiquaries.

By no means the least interesting name among those of Lily's pupils is that which has been last identified, of John Aynesworth, who was found guilty of high treason and executed at York in April 1538. The State papers of the preceding month in that year contain¹ "the confession of John Aynesworth, priest, of the age of forty years, bachelor of arts of St. John's College, Cambridge, born at Asheton in Lancashire." The record continues: "When a young man he went to London, and Elis Hylton, late keeper of Baynards Castle about twenty years ago, got him an exhibition from the Princess Dowager for six or seven years at Mr. Lilie's scole. For six or seven years at St. John's College." A consideration of dates shows that an error has crept into the account. If Aynesworth was forty in 1538 it is impossible that he should have entered Lily's school "for six or seven years" twenty years before, when his age was about twenty. If, however, we read "thirty years before" he must have entered at the quite usual age of ten, and this suggestion is borne out by the fact that Katharine of Aragon ceased to be Princess Dowager and became Queen in June 1509, so that Aynesworth must have been one of the very first pupils of Lily at St. Paul's.

Of the nature of the form of presentation of the boy to

¹ Brewer, vol. xiii., pt. i., 533.

“an exhibition” we know nothing, but the occasion of his condemnation and death was in part due to his gallant and conscientious insistence upon the wrong done to his first patroness by Henry’s divorce. In a sermon at Eversham in Cambridgeshire soon after the King’s marriage to Anne Boleyn he denounced the principle of Royal Supremacy, and being refused permission to preach the sermon a second time at York, he nailed the manuscript to the church door. Being arraigned before the Council of the North, he stoutly maintained the legitimacy of the Lady Mary, and the illegality of the marriage with Anne Boleyn; for these allegations, and a further charge of “manifest and frantic ribaldry,” he was condemned to death and hanged.

Very different from Aynesworth’s career was that of Thomas Offley, the son of the sheriff of Chester. Of him it is stated in a MS. life¹ that at the age of twelve “he became a good grammarian under Mr. Lilye, the newly elected school-master of Jesus School in Paul’s Churchyard.” Reference has already been made to the important statement as to his learning to sing among the choristers of St. Paul’s. He was a merchant of the staple, and became Master of the Merchant ‘Taylors’ Company. He was Sheriff of London in 1553, and Lord Mayor three years later, being knighted by the Queen at Greenwich in 1557. He died in 1582. Of him Fuller says “he was the Zacchaeus of London, not for his lowly stature, but for his high charity in giving half of all his goods to the poor,” and quotes a couplet which illustrates his reputation for frugal living—

“Offley three dishes had of daily roast—
An egg, an apple, and (the third) a toast.”

On the monument of Robert Pursglove, Bishop of Hull, in Tideswell Church, Derbyshire, occur the following three lines—

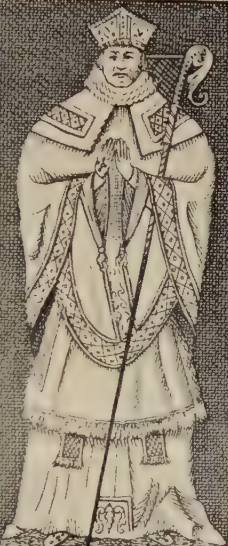
¹ Jos. Hunter, *Chorus Vatum*, vol. v. 542.



* Christ is to us as life on earth and death to us as guine



This Robert Purslove sometime Withpope of Hull decedid the 2 day of March in the year of our Lord God 1570



Because I trust through him alone salvation to obtain So little is the state of man is soon it both deny

Under this stone lieth buried by a corpse some time of tane
 In Unfortunall bred and born truele ROBERT PURSLOVE by name,
 And there brought up by parents care at schoole and learning read
 Till afterwards by CHANCELLE DEAR to LONDON he was sent
 Who WILLIAM BRADSHAW fight by name in pauls wh did him place
 And y at schoole did him maintai full threie 3 whole years space
 And then into the abbey was placed as I write
 In SOUTHWARK called where it doth by Saint MARY overis.
 So OXFORD then who did him find into that Colledge right
 And there 14 years did him find wh Corpus Christi hight
 From thence at length away he went, a Clerke of learning great
 To GILBURN ARREY freight was sent and placed in PRIORS seat
 BISHOP of HULL he was also ARCHDEACON of NOTTINGHAM
 PROVOST of ROTHERHAM COLLEDGE too of YORK and SUFFRAGAN
 Two GRAMER SCHOOLES he did ordain with land too to endure
 ONE HOSPITAL for to maintain the elce impotent and poore
 O GILBURN thou with LIDIESWALL town lament and mourn you may
 For this said CLERK of great renown lyeth here compact in clay
 Though cruel DEATH hath now doome brought his body whay here Dabyle
 Detrump of LAME clay can he sought to find his prille so high
 Qui legis hunc Vobum crebro reliquum memoreris
 Vile cadaver sum tuque cadaver eris.



ARMED WITH THE SWORD OF TRUTH AND THE SWORD OF JUSTICE



[Engraved in the "Gentleman's Magazine," 1794.

ROBERT PURSGLOVE, BISHOP OF HULL

From a brass in Tideswell Church

[To face p. 82.

“Till afterwards by uncle dear to London he was had
Who William Bradshaw hight by name in Paul’s wch. did him place
And yr at Schole did him maintain full thrice three whole years
space.”

After leaving St. Paul’s, Pursglove went for a short time to the neighbouring priory of St. Mary Overies, and then proceeded to Corpus, Oxford, from which college, after fourteen years, he passed to the great Augustinian priory of Guisborough in Yorkshire, of which he rapidly became the twenty-fourth and last prior. In 1538 he was chosen by the King on the nomination of Archbishop Lee of York, to be the first suffragan bishop of Hull, under the Act of three years earlier, and in 1540 he surrendered the priory of Guisborough to the King. In 1559 he was deprived of his bishopric, and also of the archdeaconry of Norwich which he held with it, for his refusal to take the Elizabethan Oath of Supremacy, and the Commissioners of the Privy Council represented him as “stiff in papistry and of estimation in the county.” In the year of his deprivation he obtained letters patent from the Queen to found a Jesus Grammar School at Tideswell. Some of the provisions in the statutes of this school were, like its name, taken from the school at which Offley was educated.

In 1563 he founded a similar school of the same name and also an almshouse at Guisborough. He placed both institutions under the visitatorial power of the Archbishop of York, which seems to suggest that he finally acquiesced in the Elizabethan settlement of religion. He died in 1579, and a fine brass, from which the lines quoted above are copied, marks his resting-place.

Something must now be said concerning two men who were undoubtedly pupils of Lily, but as to whom it is suggested that they were under him before his appointment to St. Paul’s. Thomas Nightingale became a B.C.L. of

Oxford in 1515, so that it is most probable that he was a pupil in Colet's school, a suggestion of which some corroboration is afforded by the fact that, in addition to being the author of *In mortem Gul. Liliæ elegiæ*, he also wrote *De obitu Joannis Coleti Carmen*. Nothing more is known of him save that Balæus describes him as "Vir lepidus et poeta."

John Constable, on the other hand, graduated B.A. at Oxford in 1511. It is, therefore, most improbable that he was under Lily at St. Paul's. According to Anthony à Wood, he left Byham Hostel at Oxford with the reputation of a great rhetorician and poet. The book of epigrams on which his reputation rests,¹ contains lines addressed to King Henry, Katharine of Aragon, and Sir Thomas More, while two copies of verses are addressed to William Lily. To the first of these reference has already been made, while the second begins with the lines—

"Praeceptor facunde tuas quis dicere laudes
Quas meritis multis es quæat ecce modis."

It is hard to believe that George Lily, the son of the first high master, received his education elsewhere than at St. Paul's, although it must be admitted that no statement of the school at which he was taught is known to be extant. He was a commoner at Magdalen, Oxford, in 1528, and, having travelled to Rome, became private chaplain to Cardinal Pole, by whom he was made Canon of Canterbury. He was the author of the well-known *Virorum aliquot in Britannia . . . Elogia*, and is said to have written the life of John Fisher, Bishop of Rochester.

Colet's will contains a touching bequest, "I will that Maister Dancaster have in money to support hym in hys vertue six pounds xiiij s. iiij d." From the fact that Erasmus

¹ Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, i. 27 ; *Fasti*, i. 32, 43.

wrote to Dancaster after the Dean's death, condoling with him on the loss of "such a teacher, such a patron, such a friend," one may safely assume that he was educated at St. Paul's.

It is probable also that Jerome Dudley, the son of Edmund Dudley, who, with Richard Empson, was attainted for constructive treason by Henry VIII, was educated under Lily at St. Paul's, since it is known that Colet was one of the guardians of Dudley's child.

It has been suggested that Sir Nicholas Bacon, the father of Francis Bacon, was educated at St. Paul's, but it must be admitted that the evidence for the statement is not strong. It is to be found in the description of the mansion built at Gorhambury by Sir Nicholas, attached to which was "a little banquetting house, most curiously adorned, round about which the liberall Artes are deciphered, with the pictures of some of those men which have been excellent in every particular Art."¹

The typical portraits under the head of Grammar—the first in the series are those of Donatus, Lily, Servius, and Priscian.

If the position of a school is to be determined by the distinction achieved by its alumni, then Colet was very early justified in his foundation, and the greatness of Lily as first high master more than bore out the discrimination of the founder in choosing him to fill that post.

It may be safely said not merely that no school-master before his day in England, but that not even any other for many years after his death, can claim the credit of having educated so many men of distinction.

Of the rank of Lily's pupils it is hard to speak with any certainty from the data which we possess. We have already seen that there is no justification whatever for Stow's

¹ Weever, *Funeral Monuments*, 1631, p. 583.

statement that the school was founded "for 153 poor mens' children."

The statement made in Grafton's *Chronicle*, published thirty years before Stow's *Survey*, may possibly be nearer the truth. He says "the companye of the Mercers have to their great prayse hetherto ordered the same to God's high honour and to the benefite of the common weale and to the well bringing up of many an honest poore man's child."

A mixture of classes is certainly suggested by some lines in Lily's *Carmen de Moribus*,¹ of which the following is an old translation—

"Another boy doth often boast of his great stocke and bloode
And sayeth with proud disdainfull mouth, Thy stocke is not soe goode."

It is hard to believe that poor men's sons predominated in the school, when we know that among Lily's pupils were the sons of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer, and of the Sheriff of Chester, and the adopted son of Sir Thomas More. We know also that three of Lily's pupils, at least, were specially sent up to London so that they might go to St. Paul's, and Sir William Carew brought his son from Devonshire to be educated by Rightwise, Lily's successor as high master.

Two, at least, of Rightwise's pupils were protégés of Henry VIII, who paid for their education at St. Paul's, and one of the boys educated by Lily was supported by members of one of the families into which that sovereign married.

Colet's provision that the boys should each contribute a penny (equivalent to a shilling at this date) to the collection at the Boy Bishop's sermon, does not suggest the presence of many very poor boys in the school, and the directions for the teaching of Greek at a time when "Graecum est et non

¹ Rawlinson MS., *ut supra*.



R. Sutchrell pinx.]

[*Holl sc.*

WILLIAM, FIRST LORD PAGET, K.G.

[*To face p. 36.*

potest legi" was proverbial, show that the founder contemplated the highest possible education for those classes especially which would supply the learned professions, and fill the most important offices in the State; in a word, for the well-to-do gentry, on whom the Tudors relied as a counterpoise to the old nobility.

CHAPTER VI

WILLIAM LILY'S SUCCESSORS : JOHN RITWISE, RICHARD JONES,
AND THOMAS FREEMAN, HIGH MASTERS 1522-1559

JOHN RITWISE, 1522-1532

JOHN RITWISE, the second high master, was elected pursuant to the founder's statute, which runs, "Yff the vnder Maister be in litterature and in honest lyff accordyng thanne the highe Maister's Rome vacant let hym be chosyn before a nother."

He was born in Norfolk and was educated at Eton. From this school he proceeded in 1508 to King's College, Cambridge, where he graduated in 1513. He was recommended to Colet by Erasmus, and was appointed surmaster in succession to Birchinshaw in 1517. He married Dionysia, the daughter of William Lily, and on the latter's death, in 1522, as we have seen, succeeded to his post.

In the year of his appointment to the surmastership, being anxious to obtain some further preferment, Ritwise solicited the influence of Colet, with the result that the latter gave him a letter of introduction to Wolsey, which is the last letter of the Dean's which is extant,¹ in which the founder describes Ritwise as "a man of good learning, and unquestionably high character . . . well worthy of even an important benefice in the Church," but in spite of this

¹ Brewer, *Let. and Papers of Henry VIII*, 1517, 18 Dec., vol. ii., pt. ii., 3834.

testimonial he failed to achieve the promotion which he desired, and it may be that his succession to the high mastership on the death of his father-in-law satisfied his ambition.

After ten years in that position, however, he was removed from his office in the last months of 1532, "for neglect of his duties," as the Mercers' records express it. It may be that this was a mere euphemism for incompatibility with the theological views of the Mercers, or perhaps the explanation is to be found in failing health, since it is certain that he died in the year following his dismissal.

The name of Rightwise or Righteous, which was latinized by his contemporaries into Justus, and the tribute to his character, as "doctrinae et morum Magister," which Polydore Vergil tersely paid in his account of St. Paul's, have been incorporated to form the motto of the second high master, which has been placed under the window in the western corridor of the new school in these words, "Qui est Justus et morum Magister," while John Leland, who was a pupil of Ritwise's during his surmastership, has left an epigram,¹ "Ad Justum Paulinae Scholae Moderatorem," which begins—

"Qui linguas teneras nova refingis
Quadam dexteritate, nec ruinam
Musarum pateris nitentium ulla
Tu nunc, Juste, meum manu benigna
Carmen suscipe."

From a letter from John Palsgrave to Sir Thomas More, which was written in July 1529, some evidence of the reputation which Rightwise enjoyed as a scholar and an educational authority at the Court of Henry VIII may be deduced, for it appears² that the King, being anxious to

¹ *Poemata varia*, p. 18; Knight, *Colet*, 1823, p. 317.

² Brewer, *Let. and Pap.*, 1529-30, vol. iv., pt. iii., 5806; Nichols, *Memoir of the Duke of Richmond*, pp. 23-4.

decide whether his bastard son by Elizabeth Blount, Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond, should learn Greek and Latin, collected the opinions of several authoritative persons, namely, the Lord Chancellor, William Gonnell, who was tutor of More's children, William Horman, the Vice-Provost of Eton, and John Ritwise, the high master of St. Paul's.

There is not much evidence extant concerning the state of the school during the high mastership of Rightwise. A structural change was effected in 1524, for the Acts of Court of the Mercers record that "two lovers," or *louvres*, "were ordered to be made in the roof of the school" in that year.

The chaplaincy was for the first time filled in the year of the appointment of Ritwise to the high mastership. One Sir John Thomson, who was an M.A. of Oxford, but whose college is not known, was the first chaplain of the school. It is significant that he left St. Paul's in 1531, the same year as that in which Rightwise was dismissed, and in which was published Henry VIII's proclamation of the Royal Supremacy.

From the extracts from State Papers which have been quoted it appears probable that John Aynesworth boarded with Lily at St. Paul's; but several entries in the Privy Purse Expenses of Henry VIII prove conclusively that Ritwise, when high master, took boarders in his house, and that at this date scholars other than free scholars were being educated at St. Paul's.

The first entry,¹ dated January 1531, is ambiguous, for it merely refers to a payment "To Rightwise, schoolmaster of Poules by the Kings commandment, £13 9s." The next entry, which bears the date October 3, 1531, runs, "To the

¹ Brewer, *Let. and Paps.*, vol. v. p. 753; Sir Hy. Nicholas' *Privy Purse Exs. of Hy. VIII*, 1827; B. Mus. Add. MSS. 20030.

schoolmaster of Powles, for the board, washing, and learning of a scholar of the Kings called Francis, from Christmas to Michaelmas £9 4s. 6d.", while in the following January an entry occurs, "To the schoolmaster of Powles for the charges of George Fraunces, the Kings scholar, £3 10s." In April of the same year £5 4s. are paid for the board and other charges of the same boy, and in the following July £7 5s. is paid "to the schoolmaster of Pauls for the exhibition of George Fraunces."

The last entries of this series refer, presumably, to a brother of George Francis, for in September 1532 £7 5s. are paid "to the schoolmaster of Pauls for Nicholas Fraunces' board, school-hire, etc.," and in the following December £7 are paid for the exhibition of the same boy.

From these figures it appears that the cost of educating at St. Paul's a boarder who was not on the foundation was in Henry VIII's reign about £15 a year.

These entries are of great importance, as showing that at this date, by "Paul's school" was meant neither the grammar- nor the choir-school of the cathedral, but the foundation of Dean Colet.

Nothing is more striking in the records of early Paulines than the lacunae in the lists of names of those identified as scholars of the school during a period of forty years after the death of the first high master. It is recorded in the school accounts that in 1524 "a book was purchased to register the children's names in," but it is a lamentable fact that no trace of it has been preserved.

To have been at St. Paul's under William Lily was in itself a distinction, and although a list of thirteen names of boys identified as those of his pupils, in the course of a mastership of fifteen years may be thought jejune, it is worth noting that of those thirteen, ten have been thought worthy of notice in the *Dictionary of National Biography*,

while more significant still is the fact that only five names have been identified as those of pupils of his three successors who occupied the high master's chair for a period of no less than thirty-seven years.

Of the three names of Old Paulines educated under Ritwise which have been preserved, we have already referred to two, George and Nicholas Fraunces, as to whom one may surmise that they were the sons of George Fraunces, the ranger of the King's forest in the Isle of Wight called Parkhurst or Carisbrook, of whom mention is made in the Privy Purse accounts of Henry VIII. The third name of which a record has come down to us is of far more interest : it is that of Sir Peter Carew.

His life, however,¹ which is to be found in a contemporary MS. written by John Vowell or Hooker, uncle of the judicious Hooker, shows that St. Paul's cannot claim much credit for his successful career. He was the second son of Sir William Carew, and was born at Ottery Mohun in Devonshire. His father, intending him for a learned profession, sent him to school at Exeter, where he perpetually played truant until his father, having heard of his conduct, came to Exeter in great wrath, and had him led through the streets of that city to his house, some miles away, by a servant, in a leash, like a dog, and for a punishment "coupled him to one of his hounds, and so continued him for a time." The MS. then continues : "At length Sir William (his father) minding to make some further proof of his son carried him to London, and there did put him to school under the schoolmaster of St. Paul's, who being earnestly requested to have some care of this young gentleman, he did his good endeavour therein. Nevertheless he being more desirous of liberty than of learning, was desirous of the one, and careless of the other ; and do the school-

¹ Cal. State Papers, Carew MSS. 1515, 74.

master what he could, he in no wise could frame this young Peter to smell a book or to like of any schooling." Although Carew must have gone "creeping like snail unwillingly to school," there was nothing about him to suggest "the whining school-boy with his satchel and smooth morning face." His father having been informed by Ritwise, with whom it seems most probable that the boy boarded, that his son "neither loved the school nor cared for any learning," accepted the offer of a French friend who asked that the boy, who was not yet eleven years of age, should become his page.

Having been thrown over by his patron soon after, the boy for some time acted as a muleteer, until he was recognized by a relation, and after various vicissitudes, came to England when about sixteen years of age as the messenger of the wife of Henry, Prince of Nassau. His skill in riding, his knowledge of the French language, and his musical aptitude, attracted to him the attention of Henry VIII, who made him a gentleman of the privy chamber, and knighted him in 1545 for his bravery in the assault on Tréport. During the reign of Edward VI he travelled, disguised as an alum merchant, to Venice and through Turkey and Hungary. On his return he opposed the attempt to place Lady Jane Grey on the throne, and proclaimed Mary as Queen in the west of England, but he conspired against her as soon as her marriage with Philip of Spain was mooted. The plot having been discovered, he fled the country and narrowly escaped assassination at the hands of bravoës hired by the English Ambassador in Venice. Flying northward through Antwerp, Lord Paget—who was also an Old Pauline—caused the Sheriff to arrest him and his companion, Sir John Cheke, and sent them blindfolded in a fishing-boat to London, where they were lodged in the Tower. Carew defended himself so skilfully that the Council of State was

constrained to release him, and two years later the accession of Elizabeth brought him once more in favour, and he was given the post of Constable of the Tower, which he held until his death in 1575. He was buried in Waterford Cathedral with great pomp, and a monument was erected to his memory in Exeter Cathedral.

Although we know that William Lily took care that Paulines under his charge should learn how to sing, we have no evidence that the first high master encouraged acting, the accepted method of training boys in speaking Latin, and in grace of gesture, wherever the humanists controlled education.

So far as we know, Ritwise established the dramatic tradition which persisted at St. Paul's for so long, although at last the masters of St. Paul's, unlike those of Westminster, allowed it to perish.

Rightwise himself was the author of a tragedy called *Dido*, which he acted with his scholars before Cardinal Wolsey, and in November 1527 the boys of St. Paul's acted an Anti-Lutheran masque at Greenwich before the King and the French Ambassador. A complete record of the characters of this masque, and of the payments to Ritwise in connection with it, has been preserved. It runs, "The Kyngis plesyer was that at the sayd revells by clarks in the Latyn tonge shold be playd in hys hy presence a play whereof insuyte the namys—¹

"First an oratur in aperrell of gold ; a poyed (poet) in aperrell of cloth of gold. Relygeun, Ecclesia, Veritas like iij novessis in garments of sylke and vayells of lawne and sypres (cypress) ; Errysy, Fallse Interpretacion, Corruptio Scriptoris lyke laydys of Beeme (Bohemia) impereld in garments of sylke of dyvers collors. The herrytyke Lewtar (Luther) lyke a party frer (friar) in rosset damaske and

¹ Brewer, vol. iv., pt. ii., 3564 ; Record Off. Revels, Nov. 10, 1527.

black taffeta. Lewtar's wife like a frowe of Spyers in Almayn in red sylke. Petar, Poull, and Jamys in iij abetts (habits) of whyghte sarsenet and iij mantylls and heris of sylvar of damaske and pellerins of skarlet; and a cardenell in hys aparell: ij sargents in ryche aparell. The Dolphyn and hys brother in cottes of velvet imbraudid with gold, and capes of satyn bowned withe velvett; a messynger in tynsell satyn; vj men in gownys of gren sarsenet; vj wemen in gownys of cremsyn sarsenet war in ryche cloth of gold and fethers and armyd; iij Almayns in aparell all cut and selyt (slit) of sylke. Lady Pees (Peace), in ladys aparell all whyghte and riche; and lady Quyetnes and dame Tranquylte rychely beseyn (beseen) in ladis aparell."

The invoice of the cloth of gold, sarsenet, buckram, velvet and lawn, and for "the childrens hose and doublets," follows, and the MS. concludes as follows: "For making the apparell 54*s.* 8*d.* 3*q.* coals at 6*d.* beer ale bread for 38 children, the Master Usher and the masters that ate and drank. 3*s.* 2*d.* Mr. Ryghtwos Master of Paul's School, asks to be allowed for doublets, hose, and shoes for the children who were poor mens' sons, and for fire in times of learning the play 45*s.* 6*d.*"

The document concludes¹ thus, "Item, payd by me Rychard Gybson for vi boots to karry the Master of Powlls Skooll and the chyldyrn as well hoom as to the koort, to every boot 12*d.* so payd for frayght for the chyldyrn 6*s.*"

There is also evidence to show that the pupils of Ritwise at St. Paul's acted before the Court a play on the Pope's captivity. In 1528 they acted *Phormio* before Cardinal Wolsey, having presented before him the *Menaechmi* a few years earlier.

There is extant in the archives of Venice² a letter

¹ Notes and Queries, Ser. 2. vol. ii. pp. 24, 78.

² Brown, Cal. of State Papers, Venetian, 1527-33, vol. iv. p. 115.

written by Gaspare Spinelli, the Secretary to the Venetian ambassador in London on January 8, 1528. The writer tells of the banquet given by Cardinal Wolsey to celebrate the release from captivity of Pope Clement VII. "The dinner was most sumptuous, and afterwards the scholars of Paul's, all children, recited the *Phormio* of Terence with so much *galantaria e bona attoine* that he (Spinelli) was astounded." The play was followed by recitations by three girls dressed to represent Religion, Peace, and Justice. After this a little boy, who had already recited with great applause the prologue of the comedy, delivered a Latin oration celebrating the day as one of great thanksgiving on account of the release of the Pope. . . . The grace with which *questo figliolino* delivered the oration could not be imagined."

This tribute by a distinguished and cultured foreigner to the ability displayed by the boys of St. Paul's School is the more valuable from the fact that Spinelli was one of the most accomplished secretaries in the service of the republic of Venice.

It is said that in 1521 Ritwise published at Cologne a book in 4to bearing on its title-page "Gulielmi Lili, Grammatici et Poetae, eximii, Paulinae Scholae olim Moderatoris, de Generibus Nominum, ac Verborum Praeteritis et Supinis, Regulae pueris apprime utilis. Opus recognitum et adauctum, cum Nominum ac Verborum Interpretamentis : per Joannem Rituissi Scholae Paulinae Praeceptoris. Col. 1521."¹ No trace of this book is to be found, but the section "De Nominum ac Verborum Interpretamentis" was incorporated in the editions of Lily's Grammar published in Antwerp in 1533, and in London in 1539. It consisted of the well-known rule for the gender of nouns, called from its first words, "Propria quae maribus," and of rules for the inflexions of verbs called "As in praesenti."

¹ Wilkinson, *Lond. Ill.*, p. 9.

In *A Chaste Maid in Cheapside*,¹ first published in 1620 and written by Thomas Middleton, Shakespeare's collaborator in *Macbeth*, one of the characters, named Maudlin, remarks of another, "He was eight years in his grammar, and stuck horribly at a foolish place there called 'as in praesenti,'" and the same character in an earlier scene definitely refers to St. Paul's School in these words, "You'll ne'er live till I make your tutor whip you. You know how I served you once at the free-school in Paul's Churchyard."

A record of a benefactor to the school during the high mastership of Ritwise is to be found in the fact that Richard Wolman, a canon of St. Stephen's, Westminster, who was afterwards Dean of Wells and who left a bequest to the "children of the gramer scole at Eton," gave in June 1528 to "the children in the gramer scole of Paul's at London 40s. to say *Dirige* or *De Profundis* in the church of Paul's" and also gave the master 6s. 8d. and the usher 3s. 4d. to be there "for better order."

RICHARD JONES, 1532-1549

Of Ritwise's successor, Richard Jones, who was high master for seventeen years, we know little. He appears to have been at the University of Louvain as well as at Oxford, where he was a B. Can. Law in 1506-7, and it is for this reason that the Lion Rampant Azure of the former University appears as representing his high mastership in the window in the school. We may presume that he fulfilled the qualifications set out by Erasmus, who declared that no one could graduate at Louvain without knowledge, manners and age.

That he was a *personā grata* with those most intimately concerned in the revival of learning in England is seen from

¹ Act IV. sc. i.

the fact that he received from his friend Linacre, who acted as executor to Grocyn, a legacy of money for the purchase of books. Of his character, the only contemporary record that has come down to us is contained in the brief reference of Polydore Vergil,¹ "Rightuso mortuo, Ricardus Jonys, homo doctus atque modestus successerit."

Like his predecessor, Jones served the school as surmaster before becoming high master, his appointment to the lesser post having been made in 1522, the year of Lily's death, and of Ritwise's appointment. One other link with the early days of the school persisted in the fact that the man appointed to succeed Jones as surmaster, James Jacob, who had taken his degree at Oxford in 1527-8, married Dionysia Ritwise, the daughter of the first, and the widow of the second, high master. James and Dionysia Jacob had a son named Polydore, who was no doubt a godson of Polydore Vergil.

Of the date of the death of this lady, whose life was so intimately connected with the history of the school, we have no record, but her second husband survived until the year 1560, when, according to the diary of Henry Machyn,² the "Husser of Powles Skolle" was buried at St. Augustines Old Change, the church situated directly behind the school, "at his berehyng were a xx clarkes syngyng ym to the chyrche and was a sermon."

One interesting sidelight, the only one into the private life of Jones which we possess, is to be found in the Record Office.³ A certain W. Welden wrote to the high master a letter from the college at Cambray, in 1538, in which he says that "Mr. Peplewell lying sick in bed sent him Jones' letters of the 2nd June." The writer goes on to say how

¹ Pol. Verg., *Urb. Angl. Hist.*, 1534, p. 618.

² Camden Soc., 1848, p. 247.

³ Brewer, vol. xiii., pt. i., p. 441 (1192).

he went to see Peplewell, but was strangely received by his servant in the shop, who said he was in his chamber with the physician, and the writer then goes on to say that he "has sought this morning for his (Jones') wife but finds very few 'tablettes rounde,' the fashion being exolete. The biggest exceed not the compass of a rial, without, full of emale of divers colours most commonly, and openeth with a vice that there may be put within it musce or sweet powders. Such may be had for 30s. with the fashion for which they ask a noble or a crown." He goes on to say that he has not yet found the stones which he wants, and comments on the fact that Jones "does not say in what stone he wants Pegasus graven, as he does Janus in a cornelian or other good stone." He does not expect to find them ready made. The writer then proceeds to say that he does not wish to take charge of children any more, for he is able to live, and does not wish to hinder his study, a remark which seems to suggest that Jones was in the habit of sending boys from St. Paul's to study in the college.

The letter concludes merely by a request that if Jones sends money, he should send single or double ducats or crowns, no other money being current but with loss.

It is unfortunate that no other letters passing between Jones and his foreign correspondents should appear to have been preserved, for in that case we might have discovered in them matters of more interest to the history of the school than references to the presents of jewellery made by the high master to his wife, or than to a mere passing reference to the practice of sending boys to study on the Continent.

Two glimpses of London life in the days of the Tudors are to be found in the Mercers' Minutes, where occurs the entry, "September 27th, 1543. The School ordered to

cease until such time as the plague be ceased," while a similar reference occurs five years later, when, on August 5, 1548, the order is recorded, "The Schole to surcease till Michaelmas because of the great death." In the year 1547, the year of the accession of Edward VI, it appears that Jones and Jacob were examined, as to the soundness of their Protestantism, no doubt. That the investigation proved satisfactory may be assumed from the fact that neither of them was removed from his post.

The only other events of interest in the history of the school during Jones' high mastership are to be found in the share which Paulines took in the great State functions which occurred in the course of those years. On one historic occasion which has been immortalized by Shakespeare, the passage of Anne Boleyn through the city on the way to her coronation, it appears that "the boys of St. Paul's presented verses of welcome and praise to the Queen, wherewith she seemed highly delighted."

In a scarce tract, published in the same year and entitled, "The noble and triumphant Coronation of Queen Anne, wife unto the most noble King Henry the Eighth," the incident is described as follows: "And so her Grace passed forth into Paul's Churchyard. And at the east end of the Church against the School was a great scaffold, whereon stood the number of two hundred children well beseen, who received her with poet's verses to her noble honour. When they had finished she said Amen with a joyful, smiling countenance."¹

It is, of course, easy to lay too much stress upon round numbers, such as those of the boys in the school which are given by this unknown chronicler, but in view of the fact that we have certain proof that two years earlier two of Ritwise's pupils were not on the foundation, it is quite

¹ J. B. Nichols' *Processions*.

legitimate to surmise, on the evidence which is before us, that during Jones's high mastership the number of boys in the school was largely in excess of the statutory hundred and fifty and three.

In the chronicle of Charles Wriothesley,¹ who was Windsor Herald during Henry VIII's reign, there appears, under the twenty-seventh year of Henry's reign, the following entry: "This yeare the 12th daie of November was songe a Masse of the Holie Ghost and Te Deum, first with the children of Paule's schole and then all the orders of fryars with copes on their backes, all the channons about London, the Monkes of Tower Hill Barmonsley and Westminster, with all the priestes of everie parishe in London. Poule's quire going all in rytch robes of cloath of gould and seaven abbotts and bishoppes with myters on their heades, the Bishop of London bearinge the sacrament of the aulter under a rich canapie of gould with torches going about it, and then the batchellers of the Mayor's craft, following afore the Mayor and aldermen, and after them all the craftes in London in their best liveries, which solemnitie was done for the health of Frances the French Kinge which was well nighe dead, and so recovered againe by the goodness of Almightye God."

A few years later, in 1544, according to Harrison's Chronology, there was a "procession of the Children of Paule's Schole with the Litany in English," while the *Monumenta Franciscana*² speak of a procession, "with alle the chelderne of Powlle's Scole," to St. Peter's upon Cornhill, on June 12, 1546, and Wriothesley,³ writing of the same year, records: "This yeare the 13th daie of June being Whitsondaie was a solempne peace proclaymed

¹ Camden Soc., 1875, i. 32.

² Rolls series, vol. ii., 1882.

³ Camden Soc., 1875, i. 164.

within the cittie of London, with other ceremonies as hereafter followeth : first my lord mayor with his brethren the aldermen assembled in the Cathedrall church of Paule's, with all the citizens in their best lyveries, and the highe masse being ended, there was a sermon made in the upper quire, afore the high aulter exhorting the people to give laud and praise to Almightye God for the contynance of the same peace. The sermon ended Te Deum was songen within the quire the bishopp in his pontificalibus, with my lord Mayor sitting in the Deanes stall, and the bishopp next him. Then a solempne procession with all their crosses and banners, of all the parish churches in London ; the children of Paule's Schoule going formost with two crosses afore them, then all the other crosses following them. Then the clarkes of the parishes in rytech robes, all the priests and curates following them in rytech copes also. Then the quire of Paule's with their crosses and copes, the Bishopp of London (Bonner) bearing the sacrament of the aulter under a rytech canapie bareheaded, his crosse and mitre borne afore him with fower great branches of wax and tow torches, going about the sacrament, my lord mayor and his brethren the aldermen with their crafts of the cittie following. The procession waie out at the North door of Paule's into Chepe by Saint Michaell's at the Querne on the North side of Chepe and so by Stolkes and Cornehill on the same side of London to Leadenhall Corner and so homewarde on the south side through Cheepe and then through Paule's Churchyarde and cominge in agayne at the West dore of Paule's church."

That the "children of Paul's" who are referred to in each of these cases were the boys of Colet's school can scarcely be denied in view of the founder's express injunction that the boys of his school should take part in "generall processions."

Stow, who was born about 1525, writes¹ that "the arguing of the schoolboys about the principles of grammar hath been continued even till our time, for I myself in my youth have yearly seen, on the eve of St. Bartholomew the apostle, the scholars of divers grammar schools repair unto the Churchyard of St. Bartholomew, the priory in Smithfield, where upon a bank boarded about under a tree some one scholar hath stept up and there hath opposed and answered till he were by some better scholar overcome and put down, and then the overcomer taking his place did like as the first and in the end the best opposers and answerers had rewards, which I observed not but it made both good schoolmasters and good scholars diligently against such times to prepare themselves for the obtaining of this garland. I remember there repaired to these exercises amongst others the masters and scholars of St. Paul's in London, of St. Peters at Westminster, of St Thomas Acon's hospital, and of St. Anthonies hospital, whereof the last named commonly presented the best scholar and had the prize in those days."

He goes on to say that after the destruction of the priory of St. Bartholomew on the dissolution of the monasteries the contest was revived for a year or two in the cloisters of Christ's Hospital, silver bows and arrows being offered as rewards by Sir Martin Bowes, goldsmith, and Lord Mayor of London in 1545.

When the disputations at Christ's Hospital came to an end the habits of the school-boys made the practice die hard, and, according to Stow, "the scholars of Paul's meeting with them of St. Anthonies would call them Anthonies pigs, and they, again, would call the others pigeons of Paul's, because many pigeons were bred in St. Paul's Church and St. Anthonie was always figured with a pig following him ;

¹ *Survey of London*, ed. Kingsford, 1908, p. 74.

and mindful of the former usage did for a long season disorderly in the open street provoke one another with 'Salve! Salve tu quoque! placet tibi mecum disputare? Placet,' and so proceeding from this to questions in grammar, they usually fall from words to blows with their satchells full of books, many times in great heaps, that they troubled the streets and passengers, so that finally they were restrained with the decay of St. Antonies School."

It may well be that the boys of St. Paul's and St. Anthony's were breaking each other's heads over points of grammar on that eve of St. Bartholomew on which the tolling of the bell of St. Germain L'Auxerrois, in Paris, rang in the most famous of all St. Bartholomew's days.

It is curious to find that as late as the end of the eighteenth century there was in use in London a proverbial expression, "An it please the pigs," which was said to have originated as a scoffing reservation used by Paulines in reference to the boys of St. Anthony's School.¹

Colet's endowment of a chantry and a chaplain was affected during Jones's high mastership by enactments which were described by the late high master as "an infamous blot upon our statute book."

The Act 37 Henry VIII, c. 4, "For the dissolution of colleges, chantries and free chapels," had given all such endowments to the King and his successors, but they were not actually taken possession of until the Act 1 Edward VI, c. 1 was passed, which vested in the Crown as from 1548 all such colleges, chantries and free chapels.

The greater part of the rents vested in the City Companies for "superstitious uses" were purchased of the Crown by the Companies concerned, and conveyed to them about 1549, and it appears certain that the endowment

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1798, vol. lx, p. 1086.

for a chantry priest for St. Paul's School was among the number.

The only man of whom one can say with any certainty that he was a pupil of Richard Jones is William Harrison, the annalist, to whom reference has already been made. He became a canon of Windsor, and died in 1594.

It has been suggested that the two sons of Edward, Lord North, who, as we have seen, was a pupil of Lily, were also at St. Paul's. Their place of education is not known, but if they were Paulines, they must have been at the school under Richard Jones. The elder son, Roger, who is said to have completed his education at Peterhouse, was ambassador, general, and faithful servant to Queen Elizabeth to the day of his death in 1600. His brother, Sir Thomas North, from whose translation of *Plutarch* Shakespeare derived all his classical knowledge, has been spoken of as the first great master of English prose.

Polydore Vergil described in these terms the effect on education in England of St. Paul's under its first three high masters, "Ac ut Londinensis juvenitus e Paulina schola multo est politior, sic tota Anglia multi studiis et doctrinis dediti profecta literatura florent."

THOMAS FREEMAN, 1549-1559

On the death of Jones, the Mercers appointed as his successor a man who in 1542 had been appointed master of the Mercers' Chapel School, with which the school of St. Thomas of Acon had been incorporated twenty years before.

Of Freeman's education or early career we know nothing. Stow says that "he spent ten years in the laborious employment of the education of youth," a statement which adds nothing to our knowledge. Freeman's election to the high mastership may, so far as is known, be reckoned as the first in which there was a contest for the post of high master,

for it appears that four years before the death of Richard Jones he was promised the reversion of the post in preference to one Gryndal, who had made application for it under favour of the Queen's grace.

The Queen in question was Catherine Parr, and this fact makes it probable that the applicant was not, as has been suggested, Edmund Grindal, the future Archbishop of Canterbury, but William Grindal, a pupil at St. John's College, Cambridge, of William Ascham, who, with Ascham, became tutor to the Princess Elizabeth while she lived under the care of Catherine Parr.

Nothing whatever is known of Freeman's career at St. Paul's, save that in 1559 "he was warned to avoid the office for insufficiency of learning and lack of the Greek tongue."

On Freeman's election James Jacob, the surmaster, was propitiated with a present for being passed over in the election of a high master in spite of his seventeen years' service in the school.

The part which the boys of St. Paul's had played in the pageants in the city of London during the high mastership of Jones, was maintained during that of his successor. It is on record¹ that on September 30, 1553, at the coronation of Queen Mary, "At the Schole house in Palles Church, ther was certayn children and men sung dyverse staves in gratefying the Queene: ther she stayed a good while and gave dilligent ere to their song."

Strype² refers to processions through the city on January 25 and March 8, 1554, in which the boys of St. Paul's School took part, while on August 18, 1554, it appears³ that "a skoller of Paule's School decked up in cloth of gold delivered unto the King's highness a fayre book which he receyved verye gentle," an incident which,

¹ *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Camden Soc., 1849-50, p. 30.

² *Historical Memorials*, vol. iii.

³ *Queen Jane and Queen Mary*, Camden Soc., 1849-50, p. 150.

of course, refers to the marriage of the Queen with Philip of Spain.

With the accession of Mary and the restoration of the old religion we find records of purchases for the chapel which are of interest. Thus, in 1554, the new *régime* is marked by a payment of 3*s.* 4*d.* for "2 candlesticks for the chappell," while the following entries in the accounts occur later—

1554-5 Paid for two altar clothes two towells and corporous (*sic*) cloth and mass book 4*1s.* 1*d.*

Vestment, rearedore, and foredore and covering for the altar, 53*s.* 4*d.*

For waxe spent in the chapell of the Schole this yeare, 3*s.* 4*d.*

1555-6 For a narrow wighte clothe for an albe and linen ; Two elles of Holland for an altar cloth 7*s.* 7*d.*

Waxe for the chapell 8*s.*

1556-7 For waxe 6*s.*

The picture of Jesus set up agayne.

Paid to Dyrricke Cure, Carver, for new making the picture of Jesus in the schole 20*s.* Paid for payenting & gilding the same picture 20*s.*

On May 30, 1556, the Mercers borrowed a chalice from St. Paul's School in consequence of a robbery at St. Thomas of Acon's. Two very significant facts concerning the staff of the school deserve mention. After the disappearance of the name of Sir Thomas Monymay, the chaplain, in 1557, the last year of Mary's reign, no name of a successor is to be found in the Mercers' accounts for three years. Further, Thomas Freeman, the high master, was "removed for insufficiency of learning," after ten years as high master, in 1559, within twelve months after the accession of Elizabeth. These facts make it very safe to surmise that the religious upheaval of the time finds its reflection in the history of the school.

Wriothesley,¹ referring to the year 1555, relates that

¹ Wriothesley, Camden Soc., 1877, ii. 130.

"This yeaere on St Barthlemew Eve, after the Lord Mayre and Aldermen had ridden aboute the fayre, they came to Christ Church by Newgate Markett, where the disputation of the children of Paule's Schoole, St Anthonies, and the children of the Hospitall was heard and three several games made for them."

We have already had occasion to refer to Holinshed's statement as to the disputation at St. Bartholomew's Fair in the same year. The words of the chronicler are as follows—

"On Bartholomew even, after the Lord Maior and Aldermen of London had rid about Bartholomew Faire, they came to Christes Hospitall within Newgate, where they heard a disputation betweene the scholers of Paules Schoole, Saint Anthonies Schoole, and the scholars of the said hospitall."

The account goes on to say that a scholar of St. Anthony's won the prize, which was a silver pen worth 5*s.*, and his master received a present of 6*s.* 8*d.*, the second best boy being a scholar of St. Paul's.

We have seen how during the high mastership of Richard Jones, according to three different chroniclers the "children of Paule's schole" took part in religious processions on at least four different occasions in the years 1536 to 1546. We have seen also how Ritwise is described in the Privy Purse Expenses, in 1532, as the "scole master of Paules," and in the accounts for the Anti-Lutheran play, in 1537, as "the master of Paul's school." In view of these facts it is surely a far-fetched assertion to suggest that the "scholers of Paules Schoole" spoken of by Holinshed, and "the children of Paule's Schoole" referred to by Wriothesley, belonged to any other school than Colet's, especially when it is seen that Stow implies the contrary, and also that Machyn describes processions which took place in the same year as that of which Holinshed and Wriothesley¹ speak, in which "all the

¹ Camden Soc., 1848, pp. 87, 92.

men-chylderyn of the hospetall and after the chylderne of sant Antonys, and then all the chyltheryn of Powlles and all ther masters and hushhers" took part.

If the statements which have been set out above are accepted, a reference to the pupils of Freeman is to be found in the description of Queen Mary's visit to the Princess Elizabeth at Hatfield in 1554, which states that "after supper a play was presented by the children of Paul's." From this account the name of one of the boys has been discovered, for it goes on to state, "After the play and next morning one of the children named Max. Poinces sung to the Princess while she played at the Virginals."¹

It is a strange fact that the only other name which has been traced as that of a possible pupil of Freeman is connected with the entertainment of Queen Elizabeth. Robert Laneham, the date of whose birth and death are unknown, was apprenticed to a Mercer, and acquired in travel great linguistic abilities, a fact which led to his entering the service of the Earl of Leicester, an account of whose entertainment of Queen Elizabeth, in 1575, he wrote in a letter to a friend, which has been preserved.² This letter closes with an interesting account of the author. "I went to scholl, forsooth," he says, "both at Pollez, and also at Saint Antoniez : In the fifth form, past Esop Fables I wys, red Terens, Vos istaec intro auferte, and began with my Virgill, Tytire tu patulae. I coold my rulez, coold conster and pars with the best of them."

Sir Walter Scott introduced Laneham into *Kenilworth* as a character full of pert officiousness. Nothing more than what is stated in his letter is known concerning him, unless, indeed, he is to be identified with "Old Lanam" who lashed the Puritan pamphleteers in 1589, in *Rhythmes against Martin Marre Prelate*.

¹ Wharton's *History of English Poetry*, vol. iii. p. 218.

² Nichols' *Progresses of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. i. p. 420.

CHAPTER VII

THE ELIZABETHAN CHANGES

JOHN COOK, HIGH MASTER 1559-1573

THE new high master appointed on Freeman's dismissal was John Cook, who appears to have been a native of Lincolnshire. He was born in 1516, and must therefore have been at Eton, where he was educated, in the head mastership of Richard Coxe, under whom that school is said to have first reached its high repute, and of whom Fuller wrote that the school "was happy with many flourishing wits under his endeavours." The fact that Coxe was a zealous Lutheran and Reformer, and after becoming tutor to Edward VI became, first, Dean of Christ Church, and later, under Elizabeth, Dean of Ely, is worth noting in view of the fact that his pupil, John Cook, was appointed to St. Paul's shortly after the death of Mary and the accession of Elizabeth.

At King's, where he was admitted as scholar in 1533, and became a fellow in due course, Cook graduated in 1538, and nothing is known as to the manner in which he was occupied in the twenty years which elapsed before he became high master of St. Paul's, except that he was enjoined by the Provost in 1545 to study Divinity and in the following year obtained a licence from his college to go abroad for two years *causa studii*.

The restoration of Protestantism resulted probably in the

disuse of the chapel at St. Paul's on Cook's election, for although a man earning the salary of the chaplain was still appointed, he is described in the records of this reign under several different titles, and prayers were said by the high master in the school-room.

That a school friendship with Lord Treasurer Burghley was maintained throughout life by Cook may be seen from a letter written by Cook thankfully acknowledging the obliging reception the great Minister of State once gave him after a long absence and intermission of acquaintance, "cum usus aliquis," so ran the letter, "a primo paene studiorum nostrorum curriculo, vix interesset."

Through the influence of Burghley with the Earl of Huntingdon Cook was presented to a country living in 1573; he obtained the prebend of South Muskham in 1586, and the fact that he died shortly after appears from the mention of his widow in the Mercers' accounts for the year 1590.

The esteem in which Cook was held is to be seen from the fact that he was selected by Alexander Nowell, Dean of St. Paul's, to distribute his brother Robert Nowell's benefactions.

On the tomb of Alexander Nowell, who was appointed to the Deanery of St. Paul's in 1560, of which there is an engraving in Dugdale's *History*,¹ there occurs the following line—

"Praesidi scholae Paulinae plurimorum auctori."

Dean Nowell, as executor of his brother, Robert Nowell, Attorney-General of the Court of Wards, was charged with the responsibility of distributing some part of his brother's estate in charity, on the death of the latter in 1568-9. The accounts of his disbursements which have been preserved

¹ 1716, p. 112.

show in some detail the objects on which they were bestowed. One of the first entries is as follows—

“Gownes geven to certeyn poor schollers of the scholls aboute London in number 32, viz. St. Pauls, Merchant Taylors, St. Anthonys Schole, St. Saviours grammer Schole, and Westminster Schole. Cost of cloth without making, xix li. xs. vij d.”

In the same year an entry occurs, “To Nycholas Benall for makinge of vij gownes for seven schollers of poulls scholl as by the acquittance . . . more at large aperethe.” Then follow the names of seven boys, of whom one, described as “William husnis,” is probably to be identified with a son of William Hunnis, a musician and poet who was master of the children of the Chapel Royal in the reign of Edward VI.

The third payment from Robert Nowell's estate which was made in Cook's high mastership, and with which we are concerned, runs, “Toe the schollars of paulls schole the xxth of December, Anno 1570 xvij d.”

We have already seen how other references in “The Spending Book” of Robert Nowell prove conclusively that the “Paul's School” referred to throughout is the foundation of Dean Colet, and not any other. Further evidence of the interest of Dean Nowell in the offspring of his predecessor's bounty is to be found in the fact that his nephew, William Whitaker, is said by Abdias Asheton, Nowell's biographer, “to have been kindly entertained by his uncle at the Deanery of St. Paul's, and put under the tuition of Cook, the learned master of St. Paul's School.”

Whitaker, who must have been brought by his uncle to London from his birthplace, Burnley in Lancashire, was a well-known Calvinistic divine, the champion of Protestantism against the great Jesuit, Bellarmine. He became in turn Canon of Norwich, Regius Professor of Divinity at

Cambridge, Fellow of Eton, and finally, on the recommendation of Archbishop Whitgift and Lord Burghley, was elected to the mastership of St. John's College, Cambridge.

The fact that Alexander Nowell sent his nephew to St. Paul's, and that from his brother's estate he made certain gifts to the boys of that school in common with those of other schools in London, is not enough to bear out the explicit statement in his epitaph that he was a benefactor to St. Paul's School.

The one circumstance which seems to bear this interpretation is to be found in a composition effected, just after Cook's retirement in 1574, between the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral and Jesus College, Cambridge, by which a dispute as to the will of one John Reston, D.D., was settled on the following terms : The cathedral on the one hand surrendered to the college all claim to certain property which came under a bequest of Dr. Reston, and the college in return undertook to maintain one Reston Fellow and eight Reston scholars, and granted to the Dean and Chapter the right of nominating seven (not, as has been said, two) of the scholars, from candidates "chosen from time to time from St. Paul's School or in defect from any other."

On the death in 1560 of James Jacob, the third husband of Dionysia Lily, Cook appointed Christopher Holden to succeed him as surmaster. It is of interest to note that, like the high master, he was an Etonian, and that in 1548 he proceeded from Eton to King's College, Cambridge, with William Malym and Richard Mulcaster, two future high masters of St. Paul's. All that is known concerning Christopher Holden while at the school is to be found in an entry dated 1570, in the Spending Book of Robert Nowell, "To the usher of Poules Scolle, to give to his cousins in Oxford as appeareth by an abstract of 28 of October ; xx s.

An indication of the manner in which the religious changes consequent on the accession of Elizabeth affected the school is to be seen in an entry in the accounts for the years 1561-1562: "Paid for taking away the pictur out of the Scole where the master sayeth prayers 8*d*." This refers, of course, to the picture of Jesus—probably "Christ Jesus in puericia"—which only four or five years earlier had been set up once more and had been painted, gilded and renovated. It may be noted in this connection that in the same year, 1561, the Provost of Eton gave orders "for pullinge downe a tabernacle of stone in the body of the church," and also "For whiting Doctor Lupton's chapell." The reference, in the extract from the accounts which has just been quoted, to the master saying prayers in the school seems to suggest that on the accession of Elizabeth the chapel was no longer used. Possibly it was turned into a library. Mention has already been made in our account of Freeman's high mastership of the fact that no one drawing the salary of the chaplain was appointed from 1557 until 1560. In that year one Elles, and in the following year Thomas Holden, who was possibly a brother of the surmaster, were appointed to the chaplain's place and salary, but in each case under the title of "he that teaches the first form." Holden's successor, Thomas Hodles, was appointed in 1567 as "teacher of the pettites." No name is recorded as having held the post in 1568. In the following year Thomas Mercer is mentioned without any comment, but once again in 1571 Richard Wilkynsonne is down as "Teacher of the first form there Accidence or Petite with the Cathechyson, the Articles of the Christian faith and the ten Commandments."

The history of the most important change effected in the school during the high mastership of Cook is to be found in a resolution of the Court passed on June 2, 1564, in

which attention was called to "the publication and zealous exhortation of the preachers in their several distinct sermons made the Spital without Bishopsgate this Easter holidays now last past for certain Fellowships to find Two Scholars a year to the number of 12 Company's. Whereupon when this assembly had heard the said matter opened they liked the notion thereof very well and bare there good minds and zeales to the furtherance and maintenance thereof. Whereupon it was by this Assembly fully and wholly condescended, concluded and agreed, that this Fellowship is well contented to find at this time one scholar or more to the University at their proper cost and charge to continue in the University during their frewill minds and pleasure and as touching the sum of money towards the Exhibition and finding of the said one Scholar or more Scholars is by this assembly agreed to be xiiij lib. vj s. viij d. so always the Fellowships full minds and consents is that the aptest and meetest Scholars in Pauls School to be advanced and preferred to the University and specially Mercers children of this Fellowship if any such may be found apt and meet there to be preferred and advanced to the Companys Exhibitions now granted before any others." These were ordered to be paid out of the school funds.¹

On July 26 in the same year, articles or terms on which the exhibitions were to be held were drawn up by Edmund Grindal, Bishop of London, and the Court notified its willingness "to found two Exhibitions of 10 marks each per annum for one graduate in Oxford and one in Cambridge to be appointed by the Company from time to time and the Exhibition to continue during the Company's pleasure." The first exhibitioner was elected in the month of September in the same year, and received the emoluments annually for four and a half years, in spite of the

¹ Vol. ii., Rep. of Royal Commission on Livery Cos., 1884, p. 9.

fact that before that length of time had elapsed he had been elected Fellow of Pembroke Hall, Cambridge. A second exhibitioner was created a month after the first ; but almost exactly a year later his exhibition was withdrawn because he had left the realm without the leave of the company, even though, as is apparent from the records of his college, Magdalen, Oxford, he had obtained permission from the college to go abroad.

In January 1565 the value of the exhibitions was fixed at £5 per annum. In April 1566 the stipulation giving a preference to "Mercers' children" was reasserted, presumably in the interests of Ralph Warcop, the son of a member of the "fellowship," who in that year received an exhibition, which he held at Christ Church, where he had taken his degree two years earlier. He is the first of Pauline exhibitioners who is known to have distinguished himself, for towards the end of the reign of Elizabeth he was returned to Parliament as Knight of the Shire for Oxfordshire, and was appointed by James I ambassador to France and Spain, and was described as "the most compleat esquire of his time."

Thomas Byllingford, the last of Cook's pupils who, so far as is known, received an exhibition at the University, which he held for seven years, was in all probability, like Warcop, one of the "Mercers' children," since it appears that he was related to a very famous member of the company, Sir Thomas Gresham. In 1573 the number of exhibitions annually awarded was increased to four.

From the accounts preserved at Mercers' Hall it appears that in two cases at least the company's exhibitioners had been educated at Mercers' Chapel School, and in two more at Horsham School, which was also under the control of the company.

It is worthy of notice that the Merchant Taylors' Company founded exhibitions at the Universities for the boys

educated at their school, as a result of the same appeal as that which caused the Mercers to establish the Pauline Exhibitions.

In the month of July 1573 the following occurs in the Mercers' minutes: "The boys may have license to play every Thursday so that one of every of the forms in the Upper School by turn one after another first make an epistle to their Master for the same." This concession is said to have been due to the reduction to the number of about thirty in the year of the red-letter days in the Prayer-book which had been kept as holidays by the school.

Practices very similar to this were to be found at Eton, where the "Bacchus" verses of Shrove Tuesday, and those shown up on Holy Rood Day, the feast devoted to nutting expeditions, were only special instances of a custom by which on every Thursday of the school year until some date in the eighteenth century a sixth form boy was "sent up for play" and presented to the provost an exercise in fair copy on gilt-edged paper.

When Queen Elizabeth was on her way to her coronation¹ in 1558-9, and when her cavalcade "came over against Paul's Scole, a childe appointed by the scolemaster thereof" pronounced a certain oration in Latin and certain verses, and of this event there is a record in the school accounts to the following effect, "Paid for the hyre or a blewe cloth for their standing ayonst the coronation, 3s. 4d."

Among the archives of Venice there is extant a letter from an Italian gentleman named Il Schifanoza to the Castellan of Mantua, in which the writer describes the coronation procession of the Queen, and quotes *in extenso* the Latin speech of the scholars of St. Paul's,² which ends,

¹ Pauline, vol. iii. p. 416; Nichols' *Progresses*, i. 52.

² Brown, Ven. Pap., 1558-80, p. 15; Jan. 23, 1559, No. 10.

“ Et quonian pueri non viribus sed precibus officiare possunt, nos alumnos hujus scholae ab ipso Coletto olim Templi Paulini Decano exstructae, teneras palmas ad coelum tendentes, Christum optimum maximum precaturi sumus, ut tuam celsitudinem annos Nestoris summo cum honore Anglis imperitare faciat, matremque pignoribus charis beatam redeat Amen.”

Holinshed¹ also quotes the speech *in extenso*, and the Latin elegiac verses which followed as well, “ which the Queene’s maiestie most attentiuely hearkened vnto. And when the child had pronounced, he did kisse the oration which he had there faire written in paper and deliuered it vnto the queenes maiestie which most gentlie received the same.”

The contribution of Queen Elizabeth to the plays acted before her at Christmas 1563 by the boys of St. Paul’s and Westminster was fifty marks. It may be conjectured that the sum was equally divided between the two schools.

Of sixteenth-century high masters, John Cook, albeit less is known of his career than of that of almost any of his immediate predecessors or successors, may claim the credit of being the only one in the course of that century to approach Lily in the number of distinguished men who have been identified as his pupils. One sidelight, however, which, although biassed, deserves mention, has been preserved in the autobiographical memoranda of John Sanderson, Levant merchant, which is preserved in the British Museum, in which the writer, who, be it said, uniformly traduced his contemporaries, declares, “ Now the misery I had at Grammar School was very great by reason of my unaptness. Before sixteen years I gave over all Latin, having been meanly instructed of mad freeschool masters, Cooke and Houlden. The said Coke (*sic*) with lashes set more than seven scars on my

¹ Hol., iii. 1177 ; Knight, *Colet*, 1823, p. 319.



WILLIAM WHITAKER, MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
AND REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

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hide which yet remain." Of another of his pupils, Richard Perceval, it is stated¹ that he was educated at St. Paul's School, "then the most famous nursery of learning in England." Perceval, on leaving St. Paul's, followed his father to Lincoln's Inn, and subsequently travelled in Spain for several years. On his return—possibly on the recommendation of his old school-master—he entered the service of Lord Burghley, at whose suggestion he was employed to decipher certain papers which gave the first information of the destination of the Spanish Armada. He was Secretary of the Court of Wards, and sat in the first Parliament of James I as member for Richmond, Yorks. He was dismissed from his post in 1614, but in 1617 he became Registrar of the Court of Wards in Ireland, where he laid the foundation of the Irish estates of the Earls of Egmont.

John Sanderson, an even more adventurous soldier of fortune than Perceval, has only been identified as an Old Pauline in the last few years through the disparaging reference to the high master and surmaster which has already been quoted. It is an interesting fact that the circumstance of his brother, Thomas Sanderson, having been at St. Paul's was also discovered in recent years through the occurrence of his name in another obscure MS. at the British Museum. Born in 1560 in St. Paul's Churchyard, John Sanderson, on leaving school, was bound apprentice to a Flanders merchant, who subsequently transferred him to the service of the Turkey Company. This led to his being sent to Constantinople in 1584, and attached to the household of the ambassador, the only British agent at that time permanently stationed abroad, part of whose expenses were defrayed by the Turkey Company. Having visited Egypt and Syria he returned to England in 1588, and fitted out a vessel to sail to the Indies round the Cape of Good Hope, but having

¹ Anderson's *House of Ivory*.

encountered storms, and being attacked by Spaniards, he got no further than Madeira, and came home penniless.

He then returned to Constantinople, where he remained for nearly six years, during part of which time he acted as deputy for the ambassador, a post which would now be dignified by the title of *chargé d'affaires*. He returned to England by Aleppo, Cyprus, Venice, and overland through Germany in 1598, but started once more for the East in the following year, and there spent three more years, during which he visited Palestine. After his final return home in 1602, he contributed a record of his travels to the second volume of *Purchas his Pilgrimes*.

Four of Cook's pupils, including William Whitaker, are known to have obtained fellowships at Oxford or Cambridge. They include Henry Hickman of St. John's, Cambridge, the son of a country gentleman in Essex, Thomas Langherne of Pembroke Hall, who was an exhibitioner of the school, and Anthony Egliefield of Queen's, Oxford, whose name occurs among the "Schollers of Poulls School" who received gowns from Robert Nowell's estate in the year 1568. Henry Hickman became in turn Chancellor of the Diocese of Peterborough, Master in Chancery, and M.P. for Northampton. Nothing is known concerning the subsequent careers of the other Old Paulines who have been named.

In 1572 the Mercers' Company obtained judgment (which was entered in the Exchequer in Trinity Term, Anno Eliz. 15) against Mr. Knevet, who had laid an information against them for "concealed chauntery lands," namely, the endowment of Dean Colet for a chaplain, all chantry endowments having been granted to the Crown by 1 Edward VI, c. 14. Knevet, who was probably a member of the family of Dame Christian Colet, failed in his "profes," but nevertheless, by the mediation of Sir Walter Mildmay



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JOHN HOWSON, BISHOP OF OXFORD AND OF DURHAM

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and others, "out of their meere liberalitye" the company gave Mr. Knevet forty pounds sterling. In spite of this payment, which looks suspiciously like hush money, the same trouble frequently occurred in subsequent years. In 1579-80, the Mercers again entered an appearance in the Exchequer on the same complaint; and in 1580, a fine of £300 was recorded against the company for the same matter. This does not appear to have been paid out of Dean Colet's estate, since a loan was raised by the company for the purchase of his rents. The sum was awarded by the Crown to David Dely and Nicholas Hilyard, goldsmiths, who, no doubt, were the informers, and the Queen by letters-patent granted the rents and tenements to the company.¹ Further entries on the same subject recur in 1582-3. It was no doubt owing to this question having been raised in the Courts that when Richard Wilkinson, the chaplain, retired on the appointment of Malym to the high mastership on Lady Day 1573, his successor's title was "the Under Usher, or rather callyd the teacher of the pettites or Accidence there the Cathechysmus and Ten Commaundementes in Inglysh."

The final stage in the story of Colet's chantry endowment is reached in the passing of a private Act, 4 James I, c. 10, by which outstanding questions were settled, and all lands, rents and hereditaments devised to any of the city companies, and mentioned in the letters-patent of Edward VI, were confirmed to the Mercers and the other companies concerned, and the trusts on which they were held were legalized.

The most distinguished man educated by Cook was John Howson, who went from St. Paul's to Christ Church, of which he later became a Canon and acted as Vice-

¹ Report of Royal Commission of City of London Companies, 1884, vol. ii. p. 11.

chancellor of the University. He was one of the original fellows of King James I's College at Chelsea, founded in 1610, and in 1618 he became Bishop of Oxford, from which he was translated to Durham, where he remained until his death in 1632, when he was buried in St. Paul's Cathedral. He is said to have delighted King James by his declaration that he would loosen the Pope from his chair, though he were fastened thereto by a tenpenny nail.

William Camden, who came to St. Paul's from Edward VI's recently founded Christ's Hospital, appears from this fact to have been the son of a poor man, but he went up to Oxford, where in turn he was a member of three different colleges, a few years before the school exhibitions had been established. Two years after graduating he became assistant master at Westminster, and after eighteen years in that post, at the express order of Queen Elizabeth, the statutes of the school enjoining that the head master of Westminster should be in orders were set aside in his favour, for although he held a prebendal stall at Salisbury, Camden remained all his life a layman.

The Queen showed him favour once again by ordering the Chapter to give him his commons free, and in 1596, "having gathered a contented sufficiency by his long labours in the School," he retired. He was appointed Richmond Herald, and in 1597, Clarencieux King-at-Arms. Like his schoolfellow, John Howson, he was connected with Chelsea College, where he held the professorship of history. The closing years of his life were occupied with antiquarian works, of which the most famous is the *Britannia*, materials for which he had collected when a master at Westminster. He endowed the Chair of Ancient History at Oxford which bears his name, and on his death in 1623 was buried in Westminster Abbey.

While a school-master he compiled a Greek Grammar for



Wm Camden

*Ant. Elz. Club.
Pl. 1 Vol. 3.*

WILLIAM CAMDEN, HEAD MASTER OF WESTMINSTER AND
CLARENCIEUX KING-AT-ARMS

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the use of Westminster School, which remained in use there until the publication of Busby's Grammar about 1647. It was read by the boys at Eton until long after this date, and it is a curious illustration of the acquisitiveness of Eton College, that the Greek Grammar of the Old Pauline head master of Westminster became known to generations of Etonians, until a date within living memory, as the Eton Greek Grammar, just as the Latin Grammar of the first high master of St. Paul's was without any justification entitled the Eton Latin Grammar.

CHAPTER VIII

A DISTINGUISHED COURTIER

WILLIAM MALYM, HIGH MASTER, 1573-1581

THE prestige to which St. Paul's had attained during the high mastership of John Cook is to be seen reflected in the eminence of the man who was appointed to succeed him. The precedent established on the death of Richard Jones, and on the dismissal of Freeman, was followed on a vacancy arising through the resignation of Cook, and an outsider was elected high master over the head of the surmaster, Christopher Holden, who had been appointed to that position by Cook in 1561.

William Malym, like his predecessor, was an old Etonian. He came of a good family, and was born in the village of Staplehurst, in Kent, in the year 1533. He refers to himself in several places in his writings as Cantuarensis, and it may safely be inferred from this that he spent part of his boyhood, at any rate, in the shadow of the shrine of the martyred Archbishop whose old school he was destined in later years to govern.

Strype suggests that he was the son of one John Malym, a physician who was a benefactor to St. Peter's, Cornhill, but of this there is no corroboration.

At Eton Malym was a pupil of Nicholas Udall, the author of *Ralph Roister Doister*, the first of English

comedies, whom a former Eton scholar, in his preface to Ascham's *Scholemaster*, described as "the best scholemaster, and greatest beater of our time." The subsequent career of the pupil shows that in some respects the mantle of his master fell upon his shoulders.

From Eton Malym proceeded in 1548 to King's, where he was elected Fellow in 1551, and graduated in 1553. On January 11, 1555, he was discommuned for a fortnight for an offence the nature of which is not known, but as to which one may assume that it was venial from the fact that in the following year he proceeded in due course to his M.A., and that his subsequent career was closely bound up with the sister college of St. Mary of Eton.

In the three following years Malym travelled in the East, and visited Antioch, Jerusalem and other cities. In Jerusalem he was created a Knight of the Holy Sepulchre by the Grand Master of that Order. His return was made by way of Asia Minor, Constantinople, the Islands of the Archipelago, and Venice. On his return to Cambridge he devoted himself, at the direction of his college authorities, to the study of civil law. He was presented by Sir Ambrose Cave, the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, to Cecil, at that time Secretary of State. Cecil retained him at his table, and later both he and the Earl of Leicester recommended him to the Queen.

Within two years, not later than 1561, he was appointed head master of Eton, where the discipline of Udall had been allowed to vanish under his successor, William Barker, of whom it was written, "he is sumwhat to gentle, and gyvethe his scholars more licence thane they have byn usid too before tyme." On receiving this promotion Malym resigned his fellowship of King's. He must have been in orders shortly after his return from the East, since, in 1569, he received the prebend of Biggleswade in Lincolnshire.

Of his eight years' rule at Eton rather more is known than of that of his immediate predecessors or successors. In the library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, is the original MS. of his celebrated *Consuetudinarium*, which provides the best account extant of life in any public school in the middle of the sixteenth century. It comprises a description of the rules and observances of the college prepared by Malym shortly after his appointment with a view to the visit of the Royal Commissioners of 1561, or else, possibly, it was merely compiled by the new head master for the purpose of informing himself of the conditions in which he was taking on the school, and of the mode in which he was to be directed in its government. The inclusion in the *Consuetudinarium* of a direction that the boys should go to confession on Ash Wednesday, which is crossed through with a pen, points to a religious change which was probably imposed on the head master.

Malym carried on the flogging tradition in which he had been brought up by Udall, the Eton master of whom the Old Pauline and Old Etonian, Thomas Tusser, the author of *Five Hundreth Pointes of Good Husbandry*, had written—

“From Powles I went, to Æton sent,
To learne straightwayes the Latin phraise,
Wher fifty three stripes given to mee
At once I had.
For faut but small, or none at all,
It came to passe thus beat I was,
See, Udall, See, the mercy of thee
To mee, poor lad.”

It was the escape of some Eton boys from the school after a flogging at the hands of William Malym which led to that well-known dinner-table discussion at Windsor Castle, where Sir William Cecil, afterwards Lord Burghley, Sir Richard Sackville, the first cousin of Anne Boleyn, who, fifty years before, had “been driven before he was fullie

fourteene years olde from all love of learning," John Astley, the Master of the Jewel House, and others aired their views on education, the result of which was that one of the company, Roger Ascham, wrote *The Scholemaster*.

Two years after his appointment to Eton the Queen, on her arrival at Windsor, to which she came in order that she might escape the dangers of the plague in London, was welcomed with congratulatory addresses by Malym and his scholars, and in the handsomely bound copy of the MS. of these speeches, which is in the British Museum,¹ there is a preface obviously written by Malym himself, in which the boys are made to solicit promotion for their master at the hands of her gracious Majesty.

In view of the flogging propensities of Malym the terms of this petition are of no little interest, for in it the Queen is requested, if she is pleased with the efforts of the Eton boys, to bestow some mark of favour on "our dearest master, by whose kindness and extreme watchfulness by day and by night we have in a short time attained such proficiency in literature," and she is further begged "not to suffer him to be oppressed by any grievous want, or to be ground down by ceaseless labours or studies" after having spent twenty years at Eton and Cambridge.

There is extant² a letter in Italian, dated six years later, from Malym to Burghley, in which, in addition to sending the Minister a copy of complimentary Latin verses, the school-master thanks him for his influence with the Earl of Leicester, and it may well be that the presentation of Malym to the prebend of Biggleswade in the diocese of Lincoln, which took place in that year, was due to the good offices of his friend and school-fellow with the most powerful man of the moment.

¹ De Adventu . . . Eliz. Reginae. ad arces Windesorienses, 1563.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1547-80, p. 331, Mar. 1569.

In the year 1573 Malym became high master of St. Paul's, where he drew a salary far higher than that which he had had at Eton. It is probable that in the same year he brought out a collection of verses, a bound MS. copy of which, most likely for presentation to the Queen, is in the British Museum.¹ The title of the book is *Carmina Scholae Paulinae in regni Elizabethae initium*. The form of its title has caused the suggestion to be made that in truth it dates not from the time at which Malym was high master, but from the accession of Elizabeth in 1558, a date at which John Cook was in possession of the high mastership.²

A very slight examination of the MS., however, proves this supposition to be untenable. In the first place, Malym's verses occupy a place of honour in the book at the very beginning, which would not be likely to be the case if the William Malym by whom they are written were not the high master, but, as is suggested, a pupil of the school bearing by a curious coincidence the same two names as the high master who was to be appointed fifteen or sixteen years later.

Further proof is, however, forthcoming to show that the book was in truth compiled in 1573, albeit possibly including lines written some years before, even though they are headed, "In augustissm. et foelicissim. Regni serenissae. Reginae nostrae ELIZABETHAE initium, carmen ἐγκωμιαστικόν.

In the first place there is a copy of verses by Walter Nethercott, who it is very difficult to suppose was any other than the Pauline bearing these names who received an exhibition from the school in the year 1574.

Of the other contributors to this volume, seven have been identified. Martin Reade, whose verses are inserted

¹ MS. reg. 12. a. lxvii ; Pauline v. 471, 534.

² *Journal of Education*, July 1909, p. 509, in an article on St. Paul's School, by A. F. Leach.

next after those of Malym and Nethercott, received money from Robert Nowell's estate in 1573, and after a short time spent at Cambridge migrated to Oxford, where he graduated in 1577. John Pratt graduated from Pembroke, Cambridge, in 1578, and Nicholas Walrond from Christ Church in the same year. Richard Clerke and John Cater graduated from Cambridge, and Thomas Sanderson from Oxford, in 1582, while John Smyth took his degree in Cambridge in the following year.

When the actual verses are read conclusive evidence is forthcoming that the volume was not compiled earlier than 1573 or 1574.

In Richard Clerke's verses occurs the line, "Namque pie quater haec quatuor regnavit in annos;" Malym writes of the failure of the northern rebellion—

"Ac exorsa lues Borealibus impia ventis
Concidit ad cineres, monachum reboante caterva ;"

and on the same topic Nethercott writes—

"Fulminat in vitiis et corda rebellia frangit
Mille inter gladios et mille cadavera vinxit
Turba rebellantum, licet et Northumbria quamvis
Invidit nostram sera Westmorlandia pacem."

I have referred above to a continuation of Dean Nowell's benefactions. Two other entries in The Spending Book relate to this high mastership. They run, "To one clerke of Powles schole commended by Mr. Malyime the third day of June 1579 v s.," and "Too XVten schollars of paulis schole the xixth of November 1580. vij s. : vj d."

The close connection which subsisted between Burghley and Malym is indicated by the fact that the former committed to the charge of the latter, Thomas Chaloner, the son of Sir Thomas Chaloner, whose works Malym, a few years later, prepared for the press at Burghley's request.

After having had him educated at St. Paul's, Burghley sent young Chaloner to Magdalen College, Oxford. On leaving the University he travelled extensively, and having visited the Papal alum works at Puteoli, the observation, on his return to England, of vegetation on his estate at Guisborough similar to that at Puteoli, led to the discovery and working of alum mines in Yorkshire, in connection with which he corresponded with Sir Francis Bacon. His scientific interests led him also to write a book *On the rare vertue of Nitre*. He was knighted by King Henry IV of France in 1591, and was a benefactor to the School of St. Bees in Cumberland. James I by letters patent appointed him tutor to his son, Prince Henry, "for the good proof we have long had of your singular affection to our person, and for the trust we repose in you as well in regard for your zeal for religion as also for your discretion." When Prince Henry was created Prince of Wales in 1610 he made Sir Thomas his chamberlain, and the Court official only survived the death of his young master for two years, being buried at Chiswick in 1615.

In the school library¹ is a fine copy of Sir Thomas Chaloner's *De Republica Anglorum instauranda*, dated 1579, containing, in addition to a fine impression in red wax of the seal of Mary Queen of Scots, an inscription in Latin from Malym to Barnabee Googe, and also one in Latin apparently by Googe himself. The book also contains the autograph of William Sound, who was surmaster of St. Paul's from 1603 till 1637.

The close association of the book with St. Paul's suggests that Barnabee Googe was a Pauline, but no corroboration of the inference has been forthcoming. He was the son of William Googe, the Recorder of Lincoln, and a kinsman of Sir Robert Cecil, with whom, as we have seen,

¹ *Athenæum*, Nov. 23, 1889.

Malym was on terms of friendship. He was educated at Christ's and at New College, and acquired some distinction as a poet.

During Malym's high mastership the boys of St. Paul's took a large part in the State ceremonials in the city which the pomp and circumstance to which the Queen was devoted caused frequently to occur. On October 29, 1575, the Lord Mayor's Day of that time, "on the morrow after St Simon & St Jude, Mr Malym's scholar made an oration on a skaffolde set up at Pauls School, when Mr Ambrose Nicholas, then Lord Mayor returned from Westminster," while three years later, in 1578, Malym himself delivered an oration in Latin to Duke John Casimir, the leader of the troops in the Netherlands, on the occasion of his visit to the city of London.

The spirit of discontent which had shown itself in Malym while at Eton found expression once more less than seven years after his promotion to St. Paul's, and in mingled prose and rhyme he petitioned his old patron, Lord Burghley, as Knight¹ quaintly puts it, "to provide him somewhat more agreeable, more easy, and more profitable employment (for in those times the salary was not so weighty as since it hath been) he complained, *Me nimium paupertate gravari libertate privari, conculcari doctrinam, spes meas exinaniri*, he desired not, he said, a freedom from all labours, but

"*Mitius exilium, pauloque quietus opto.*"

He asked Burghley to relieve him from the toil of endlessly rolling up the stone of Sisyphus by some preferment, and he ended his letter with the following verses—

"*Adsis tu Cynosura mihi, ter nobilis heros
Ne tenui in mensa desit mediocre salinum,
Ne nimium fractum, me rodant tristes egestas.
Neve ego perpetuo curis involvar acerbis.*"

¹ Knight, p. 320.

Haec mea vota precor supplex, ne segnius hauri
 Candide Maecenas, unus qui singula possis.
 Sic tibi multiplices current foeliciter anni
 Prospera magnanimi, numeres et lustra Metelli."

Maecenas, however, remained obdurate, and Malym remained at St. Paul's until 1581. He is said to have died in 1594.

A curious record dealing with the finances of the school is preserved in the accounts of Thomas Egerton, who was surveyor-accountant in 1574-5. In this statement that official writes, "Given to my late predecessor Thomas More by way of Malivolence—Benevolence I should say,—for otherwise the reste (*i. e.* balance) of his account was not to be gotten out of his hand; but he would be his own bayly, xxv lib." From the records of 1575-6 it appears that Thomas Egerton recovered from his successor the surplus of the expense of the audit dinner, amounting to more than £10, which his predecessor, More, ought to have paid to him. Unfortunately, nothing more is known of the details of this transaction.

During Malym's high mastership the "shedde or lyttel house of tymber" attached to St. Dunstan's chapel at the east end of the cathedral, to which the boys of the school had access, was repaired and converted into a residence "for the pore man, the porter of the Schole to be more readier to attend upon the said Schole and to keep it clean." There appears reason to suppose from this that in or before 1573 the Poor Child was relieved of his duties by a porter; the house of the latter, however, was subsequently turned into an under usher's house, in which capacity it was maintained, after having been still further enlarged, until the year 1620.

Sir Thomas Elyot, in "The Boke named the Governour," in the course of which is mapped out the education of

a gentleman, expresses approval of manly exercises such as wrestling, hunting, swimming, shooting with the cross-bow, and tennis, but refuses to sanction the game of football because "therein is nothing but beastly furie, and external violence, whence procedeth hurte, & consequently rancour and malice do remaine with them that be wounded."

Malym did not share these views. We know that at Eton his pupils played football without let or hindrance, and it may therefore be assumed that Paulines during his high mastership did likewise.

While at St. Paul's Malym provided a polyglot lexicon in Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Spanish, and High Dutch. When he retired the Court of the Mercers made him a present and bought this and other "implements" for the use of the school, the sum of nineteen shillings being charged in the accounts for the purchase of the polyglot lexicon, which may be assumed to have formed the nucleus of a library.

Judging from the number of men who held the post, called, as we have seen, for the first time under Malym, under usher, and not chaplain, the high master must have been a difficult man with whom to get on. After the first under usher retired the accounts record a sum "paid to one Harrolde, under ushere, for three weeks teaching a little afore Bradshaws coming . . . and so dismissed." Of Robert Bradshaw it is on record that "he had much contention with Malym and Holden." The next entry relates to "a young man that wayted a moneth at Powles School hoping to have been placed in Bradshaws room." The three succeeding occupants of the post were appointed within a period of three years.

Malym, whose Latin style was fluent but affected, and who, according to Strype,¹ "writ a fine hand," published, in

¹ *Stow*, vol. i. p. 167.

1572, a book translated from the Italian entitled, *A true Report of all the successe of Famagosta in Cyprus*, which he dedicated to the Earl of Leicester. Verses from his pen were prefixed to various books produced about this time, and under the immediate supervision of Lord Burghley he edited the poetical works of Sir Thomas Chaloner. In Geoffrey Whitney's *Choice of Emblems*, published five years after his retirement from St. Paul's, a set of verses is addressed to the late high master, "Ad doctissimum Virum Dn. W. Malim."

The discovery of the volume of verses to which reference has been made has added eight names to those of the pupils of Malym who had already been identified, of whom there were only nine.

Five of his scholars proceeded with exhibitions to Cambridge, but no exhibitioners, so far as is known, went up to Oxford. Of the exhibitioners, two gained fellowships. Of these Thomas Mudde, who obtained his exhibition "at the suit of Mr Nowell, Deane of Paul's," and who became Fellow of Pembroke, was a well-known musician, and it is on record that while at the University "he composed a comedy which reflected too saucily on the Mayor of Cambridge." For this he was committed to the Tolbooth, but after three days he apologized and was released.

The period during which Old Paulines held their exhibitions at this time appears to have varied from six to eight years. One of Malym's pupils, John Medley by name, held his exhibition for four years only, but his appointment to the surmastership of the school at the date when the exhibition ceased sufficiently explains the short tenure which he enjoyed.

Of the pupils of Malym who have been identified through the occurrence of their names among the writers of verses to Queen Elizabeth, only three have been traced.



SIR FRANCIS VERE, GENERAL

[Faithorne sc.]

[To face p. 134.]

Thomas Sanderson became Archdeacon of Rochester; Richard Clerke, Vicar of Minster, was one of the learned men to whom the translation of the Authorized Version of the Old Testament was entrusted. The third is Francis Vere, second son of Geoffrey de Vere, and nephew of the Earl of Oxford. It is not known whether other members of his family—the “Fighting Veres,” as they were called—were educated at St. Paul’s, but one may surmise that Sir Francis’s two brothers, Robert and Sir Horace, afterwards Lord Vere of Tilbury, were also educated under Malym. Vere’s contribution to the addresses to the Queen strangely foreshadowed his coming career in the words—

“Flandria cujus item postulat omnis opem.”

In 1586 he was fighting in the Low Countries, and was soon placed in command of a company. In the following year Vere won his spurs on the ramparts at the siege of Sluys against the renowned *tercio viejo*—the pick of the Spanish infantry—and was known henceforth as “young Vere who fought at Sluys.” He was knighted in the following year as a reward for his success in raising the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom. He earned the reputation of being the greatest general of the Elizabethan age; became in turn Commander-in-Chief in the Netherlands and Governor of Brill. He was severely wounded in the victory at Nieuport, and on the proclamation of peace with Spain by King James, he was appointed Governor of Portsmouth. On his death, in 1609, he was buried with military honours in Westminster Abbey on a spot marked by a splendid black marble monument. Cyril Tourneur, the dramatist, wrote a “Funerall Poeme” in his honour.

CHAPTER IX

THE AMENDING ORDINANCES OF 1602

JOHN HARRISON AND RICHARD MULCASTER, HIGH MASTERS
1581-1608

JOHN HARRISON, 1581-1596

ONE of the last acts of Malym before sending in his resignation of the high mastership was, in the course of the year 1580, to appoint John Harrison to the vacancy in the surmastership caused by the resignation or death of an Old Pauline, John Medley, who had held the office for two years.

After Malym's departure, according to the Mercers' accounts, "a number of our company assembled with Mr. Deane of Powels, and other learned men, for the tryall of the said Schole Masters sufficiency." The recently-appointed surmaster was the successful candidate, and it is worth noting that he is referred to by Mr. Dean (Alexander Nowell) as "our cosyn," and received gifts from Nowell on many occasions, including benefactions from Robert Nowell's estate which were paid to him while an Eton boy.

The unsuccessful candidate on this occasion, who received a present for his expenses, was no less a person than "Mr. Wilkinson, reader of the Greek Lector at Cambridge," whom we may probably identify with Henry Wilkinson, a Fellow of Trinity, who had had some experience of teaching, as he had been first under master at Merchant Taylors' from 1573-1576, and who, on the retirement of Mulcaster

from the head mastership of Merchant Taylors' in 1586, was appointed to succeed him, and retained that post until 1593.

Harrison, like his predecessor, was an Etonian, and had entered the foundation of King's College, Cambridge, in 1570, being elected fellow three years later. He graduated in due course in 1574, proceeded to his master's degree in 1578, and the tenure of his fellowship came to an end in the following year.

Thomas Baker, the Cambridge historian, who as a rule is trustworthy, says that he was expelled from King's "*ob doctrinam minus sanam in concione evulgatam, quam retractare noluit*," and this note is recorded against his name by Anthony à Wood in reference to the occasion of his taking his *ad eundem* degree at Oxford in 1585, four years after his appointment to St. Paul's.

The year of Harrison's succession to Malym is remarkable in the history of the school as being that in which occurs the first recorded mention of the Apposition, for in the accounts of the Mercers' Company is to be found a reference to money "paid for dinner at the examination of the scholars at Candlemas." After this entry occur regular records of the Apposition, conducted by two Apposers, and followed in each instance by a dinner. The latter was held as a rule in the school. Once, at least, it was held in the bishop's palace, and in 1592 it took place at the Mercers' Hall and not in the school, "for that two or three had died of the sickness lately." Three years later it was held in the same place for another reason, and we find this ominous entry: "The audit dinner for the accompt was holden at Mercers' Hall this year, for that Harrison still kept possession of the school house."

The explanation of this statement is to be found in the litigation in which the high master, Richard Smyth the sur-

master, and Francis Herring the usher on the one hand were engaged against the Mercers' Company on the other. In 1592 Harrison exhibited before Whitgift, the Archbishop of Canterbury, articles touching various abuses alleged by him to have been committed by the company in the management of the property of the school. In particular he complained that although the rents of the estates had greatly increased since the foundation of the school, the salaries of the masters had not been augmented because the company claimed the surplus as their own. The company, in answer to these articles,¹ admitted that they claimed "the inheritance of the lands after providing for casualties, reparations, and other contingent charges extraordinary as time and occasion should require at their discretion," and that "such overplus as falleth out from time to time is kept in their hall in good safety, in which place the founder appointed it to be kept, and the same belongeth to the said company by the special gift and appointment of the said founder."

The result of these proceedings in the "Archers," as the Court of Arches is called in the records at Mercers' Hall, is not known. Samuel Knight says that "by an order agreed and established, Harrison's salary was considerably increased to him and his successors," but in 1596 Harrison was replaced in the high mastership by Richard Mulcaster. In the same year the surmaster and usher took proceedings in the Court of Chancery² against the company, while in 1598 Harrison joined with them and filed a bill in Chancery, "as well for and in behalf of themselves as for the maintenance and benefit of the same school." The purpose of these proceedings was to secure the reinstatement of Harrison as high master.

¹ *Times*, Feb. 12, 1870.

² *Law Times Reports*, 1870.

The company, although only formal defendants to this bill, put in an answer, which is a long-winded document full of abuse of Harrison and his co-plaintiffs as "factious, turbulent, and malapert fellows," and they appear to have withdrawn all claims to any of the school property which had been made by them before the Court of Arches, and to have admitted that they were trustees of the entire revenues of the school, and of the surplus for the benefit of the school, protesting that "whatever the rest truly is, the same should always be ready to be employed for the use of the school as good occasion should be offered and equitie and good conscience require." An account was directed on Harrison's suit upon the answer coming on, but the suit was not brought to a hearing, and the bill was ultimately dismissed for want of prosecution. The statement in Cooper's *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, that Harrison died in 1596, is obviously incorrect in view of this litigation.

Richard Mulcaster, the new high master, who was appointed on Harrison's dismissal on August 5, 1596, had, as we shall see, been performing the duties of that office in an ambiguous manner for more than a year before that date, for he had charge of the boys of St. Paul's in his school in Milk Street during the time in which the Mercers were engaged in ejecting the *de facto* high master from his possession of the school house in St. Paul's Churchyard.

Of Harrison's personal character nothing is known save that he describes himself as "an unprofitable grammarian," while Knight places it on record that "he was a great antiquary for coins and English history." In a codicil to Dean Nowell's will, executed after 1592, there are bequests to his cousin Mr. Harrison and his wife £6 13s. 4d., and to every one of their children 20s.

Richard Smyth, the surmaster, was not removed from that post at the time of Harrison's dismissal. He remained

in the school for another three years. Francis Herring, the usher, on the other hand, was dismissed with the high master in 1596.

Herring's tenure of the post of under usher is of interest as being the first in which the holder of that position was given a house. In 1588-9 the "tenement at the end of Poule's Church," which by progressive encroachments, from being an outhouse used by the school, had in 1572 been turned into the porter's lodge, was in 1588-9 converted into a residence for the under usher.

Stow, in his *Annals*, records that on the day before Twelfth Day, in 1589, a great and terrible tempest of wind raged in the city of London to such an extent that "one of the three West Gates of St. Pauls Church, to wit, that next to the Bishoppes Palace, was broken, with the bolts, barres, and lockes of the same gate, so that it was blowne over." The Mercers' accounts¹ supplement this statement by an entry as to what occurred at the east end of the cathedral, for there, they relate, "a pynnakell from Poules Church by the great wynd" beat down the under usher's house which had just been prepared.

Wise, or Withes, the under usher, who had been appointed in 1583, died in 1589, a fact which is known from the circumstance that Harrison acted as his executor; and it is perhaps not a very far-fetched surmise to suppose that he was killed by the collapse of his house at a time when he was within it, and that the "great wynd" blew this much good, at any rate, that it made a vacancy in the post of under usher, which Herring was to fill, albeit in so turbulent a manner.

Shortly after Harrison's election, the first list of books of which there is any record in the school was made. It appears to have included twenty-eight volumes, which cost

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 11.

£14 8s., "whereof," as the Mercers' records remark, "Mr. Harrison received of the boys at their admission about £9, by his own confession," with the result that the school account was only charged £5 8s. The entry is important as showing that at this time an admission fee, far in excess of the statutory fourpence payable to the poor scholar, was charged.

There is a subsequent list of nine books given by Harrison, and valued at £3 1s., while once more, in 1591, five volumes were bought at a cost of £3 15s. An inventory was made of "the implements at the school both before Harrison's time and since bought," the former comprising, no doubt, those which, as we have seen, were purchased from Malym on his resignation. The list of books in the school in Harrison's time will furnish some notion of the work done at this period in the school. It includes commentaries on Horace, Virgil, Terence, Persius, and Sallust. The only Greek authors mentioned are Socrates and Euripides, the latter with a Latin version. The Latin authors largely preponderate, and above all others Tully is the favourite author.

That the right of Paulines to have a part in any pageantry which was taking place in the city was still recognized during the years of Harrison's high mastership may be seen from the fact that when the masquers of Gray's Inn rode by the school in 1594, conducting their chief, "the High and Mighty Prince Henry Prince of Purpoole from his mock embassy to Russia," his Highness was entertained at St. Paul's School with a Latin oration made by one of the scholars of that school, the text of which was included in the *Gesta Grayorum*,¹ the account in which concludes: "The Oration being ended, the Prince rewarded

¹ From Harl. MS., 1st Part published 1688; 2nd in Nichols' *Progresses*, iii. 308-320.

the boys very bountifully, and thanked them for their good will and forwardness to shew the same."

Of Harrison's pupils very little is known. In spite of his having occupied the high master's chair for fifteen years, only a score of names are assignable to him in the school registers. He is almost the last high master of whose pupils only a meagre number has been identified, and among whom but a very few have been distinguished. There is a certain piquancy in the contrast afforded by the careers of his three best-known pupils, of whom one became a Protestant bishop in Ireland, another a Jesuit priest, and the third a rector of a city living who took the covenant, albeit he opposed King Charles' trial. The first of these, John Boyle, was an Exhibitioner at Bene't, and after having been Dean of Lichfield for eight years, became Bishop of Cork in 1618, a see which he held with those of Cloyne and Ross *in commendam* until his death.

Francis Walsingham, a kinsman of Sir Francis Walsingham, was a Northumbrian who wrote of himself that he was educated "for divers years at the Schoole of Paules." He received deacon's orders but joined the Catholic Church, entered the English College at Rome, was ordained a member of the Society of Jesus, and was the author of *A Search made into Matters of Religion*, a book which has recently been reprinted, in which he stated the reasons for his conversion to the Catholic faith.

The last Pauline of note educated by Harrison was William Gouge—the son of a Middlesex gentleman—whose aunt was married to William Whitaker, and who received part of his education also at Felstead and Eton. From the latter school he proceeded to King's, where he was elected Fellow, and was known as the Arch-Puritan. He is described by Granger as having been "for forty-five years the laborious exemplary and much-loved minister of

St. Anne's Blackfriar's," and in that capacity was a member of the Westminster Assembly of Divines. He was offered the post of Provost of Eton, but was too modest to accept it.

Only eighteen of Harrison's pupils are known to have proceeded to Oxford or Cambridge, but although he was high master for fifteen years, the number is not surprising in view of the fact that at the end of Elizabeth's reign the tendency of fashion set against the Universities, and the custom arose for the sons of men of rank or of wealth to be brought up by a tutor at home, or in foreign travel, or as pages in noblemen's houses. Further, the material interests of the Court of Wards account for the diminution in numbers at all the public schools at about this time, since the wards of that Court were in almost every instance kept from being sent to school.

RICHARD MULCASTER, 1596-1608

While the controversy to which we have referred was raging between Harrison and the Mercers' Company, the latter held one efficient weapon in their hands, for although Harrison was able to keep possession of the school buildings, and to withstand eviction from the high master's house, the Mercers took care, after the crisis had developed between them and the high master, that no pupils should go to him for their education.

To secure this the boys of St. Paul's were removed by the Mercers to the care of another master, Richard Mulcaster by name, who, it is believed, kept a private school in Milk Street at this time, and was a sufficiently distinguished personage in the educational world.

Mulcaster was a member of an old Border family, the records of which went back to the days of William Rufus,

and he was born in the old Border tower of Brackenhill Castle, on the river Line in Cumberland. Mulcaster, like his two immediate predecessors in the high mastership, was an old Etonian, having been a collegier under Udall. He was the last of the five alumni of that school who have become high masters of St. Paul's. It is interesting to notice that Harrow, from 1669 (the date about when it ceased to be a local, and became a public school), was governed almost continuously till 1785, by five Etonian head masters. Having graduated in the year 1553 at King's College, Cambridge, of which he was a scholar, Mulcaster was not elected to a fellowship and migrated to Christ Church, of which he became a student in 1555.

At Oxford Mulcaster employed his time in the study of Oriental languages, and earned from the celebrated divine Hugh Broughton—that great English Rabbi, as Samuel Knight calls him—the reputation of being the best Hebrew scholar of his age.

The fact that in the year 1559 he was engaged as a school-master in London is established by a passage in his *Positions*, which was published in 1581, in which he speaks of having been employed in teaching for twenty-two years.

His reputation must have been rapidly made, for at Michaelmas, 1561, he was appointed the first head master of the newly-founded Merchant Taylors' School in Suffolk Lane, in the parish of St. Laurence Pountney.

Although the historian of Merchant Taylors' School,¹ writing nearly a hundred years ago, appears to have been ignorant of the fact, a very cursory investigation of the statutes of Merchant Taylors' shows that, *mutatis mutandis*, they were copied from those of St. Paul's. In this connection it is significant that Sir Thomas Offley, an Old Pauline, was a member of the Court of the Merchant

¹ H. B. Wilson, 1812, vol. i. p. 6.

Taylors' Company in the year in which they founded their school.

The statutes make provision for one school-master and three ushers "to teach freely one hundreth schollers being poor mens sonnes," fifty more "being poore mens children," were to pay two shillings and two pence a quarter, and another hundred, "being rich or meane mens children," were to be charged five shillings a quarter. It will be seen at once that this school, with four masters for two hundred and fifty boys, was not as well equipped on the teaching side as St. Paul's.

No mention was made in the statutes of pensions to the masters, the salaries of each of whom were fixed at only £10 a year. On the appointment of Mulcaster, Mr. Hills, the master of the Merchant Taylors' Company, promised to pay him £10 a year, in addition to the statutory stipend, but even with this increment his salary was less than two-thirds that of the high master of St. Paul's.

At Merchant Taylors' Mulcaster showed considerable ability, although his character at intervals involved him in friction with the governing body of his school. One of his first pupils was Edmund Spenser, and Samuel Knight declares as to another of those whom he taught, "nor do I honour the memory of Mulcaster for anything so much as for his scholar, that gulf of learning, Bishop Andrews." That the pupil honoured the master may be inferred from the fact that Lancelot Andrews, when Bishop of Winchester, showed his esteem for Mulcaster by hanging his portrait above the door of his study, and in addition to many other substantial acts of friendship and kindness to him during his life, left on his death to his son, Peter Mulcaster, a legacy as a memento of a lifelong intimacy with his father. Three other bishops, at least, were educated by him at Merchant Taylors'. The success of Mulcaster at Merchant

Taylor's School was so great that not only was he able to fill the school with boys, but he also crowded his house with boarders over and above the statutory number. The Merchant Taylors' Company disapproved of this, and compelled him to get rid of his private pupils in 1567. In spite of his compliance over this matter, however, matters did not proceed smoothly between the company and the school-master, for it appears that in 1574 he was cited before the Court of the company, and had perforce to admit, albeit after some demur, that "his injurious and quarrelling speech at the last election day, had been spoken of collor,"¹ but although for a while matters were patched up, after the lapse of a little time a reverse in the fortunes of Mr. Hill deprived the head master of the £10 per annum which had been added to his statutory salary, and the parsimony of the company and Mulcaster's violent temper brought about a further crisis which resulted, in 1586, in his resignation in disgust at the treatment which he had received, although, being wiser than Harrison, he had not rushed into legal proceedings, which in that case had so fully vindicated the employers at the expense of their servant. The Merchant Taylors' Company realized the ability of the man whose services they had lost, but to their prayers that he should retain the head mastership, the only reply which Mulcaster would condescend to make was the pungent aphorism "Fidelis servus, perpetuus asinus."

The accounts of St. Paul's prove the inaccuracy of the statement contained in Wilson's *History of Merchant Taylors'*, to the effect that he was appointed surmaster of St. Paul's immediately on his resignation of the head mastership of Merchant Taylors'. The matter for surprise is that even after the lapse of ten years, having had experience of a city company, and having heard what must have been the

¹ Choler.

common gossip of the city, as to the strife between Harrison and the Mercers, in spite of these facts Mulcaster should have once more accepted employment at the hands of one of the livery companies.

All that is known of Mulcaster's career during the period of time which elapsed before he was appointed to St. Paul's is that from 1590-1591 he was vicar of Cranbrook, Kent, and in April, 1594, he received the Prebend of Yatesbury in the diocese of Salisbury. His relations with the Merchant Taylors' Company during these years appear to have been anomalous. In spite of the cavalier manner in which he had left the school, he appears to have attended the annual examination on St. Barnabas' Day, in Suffolk Lane, as an examiner, in 1595, 1596, and 1601. The date at which he opened his school in Milk Street, to which Paulines were sent during the protracted recalcitrancy of Harrison, is not known, but that he was unable, without calling in the assistance of other teachers, to cope with the great addition which was thus made to the numbers of his pupils, is proved by entries in the accounts for the year after he had become high master, to this effect, "Paid to Christopher Johnson for his pains in teaching under Mr. Mulcaster, till Lady Day in Lent last," "Paid to John Bevane for reward for teaching the schollers of Poules one quarter, under Mr. Moncaster in Mylk Street," and again, "To Mr. Mansfield, late Mr. Moncaster's ussher."

On the removal of Harrison, Mulcaster's *de jure* high mastership became translated into an actual fact, and his appointment dates from August 1596. In view of the fact that he entered at King's in 1548, Mulcaster must have been at least sixty-six years of age when he was elected high master, and since he remained in the school for twelve years, his age was nearly four score when he retired, so that he

may claim the distinction of having been one of the oldest high masters to remain in office at St. Paul's.

On his appointment Richard Smyth, who had aided and abetted Harrison in his conflict with the Mercers, was, for some unknown reason, nevertheless retained in his office as surmaster, but the under usher, Francis Herring, having been dismissed, the post was filled by Christopher Johnson, who, as we have seen, was Mulcaster's assistant in Milk Street.

Fuller, whose son entered St. Paul's forty-five years after Mulcaster's death, gives an account of the latter which deserves to be quoted *in extenso*: "His method in teaching was this: In a morning he would exactly and plainly construe and parce the lessons to his Scholars: which done he slept his hour, (custom made him critical to proportion it) in his desk in the School, but wo the scholar that slept the while! Awaking he heard them accurately, and Atropos might be persuaded to pity, as soon as he to pardon, where he found just fault. The prayers of cockering mothers prevailed with him just as far as the requests of indulgent fathers, rather increasing than mitigating his severity on their offending child. In a word he was Plagosus Orbilius: though it may truly be said (and safely for one out of his School) that others have taught as much Learning with fewer lashes. Yet his sharpness was the better because impartial, and many excellent scholars were bred under him." The opinion expressed by Mulcaster himself was that he would have done better if he had used with his scholars "more correction and less curtesie." According to Anthony à Wood, "his excellencies in grammar poetry & philology" were such that on his application for the head mastership of Merchant Taylors' in 1581 he was unanimously elected.

Like his great predecessor, William Lily, Mulcaster attached great importance to vocal music as an educational factor. He taught his boys music and singing. Sir James

Whitelock, who was one of the first of his pupils at Merchant Taylors', speaks of "Mulcaster's care to increase my skill in musique." His views as to the value of a dramatic training led to the frequent appearance of "Master Munkester's children," as they are called, in the masques and interludes acted before Queen Elizabeth, but a record has been preserved of the presentation of only one play by his pupils at St. Paul's, unless, indeed, a Latin play called *Sapientia Salamonis*, which we know was acted by Paulines before the Queen, was produced during his high mastership.

It has been suggested that Holofernes, the pompous pedagogue of *Love's Labour's Lost*, is a caricature of Mulcaster, but no corroboration of the surmise has been forthcoming, and it is more probable that Shakespeare drew the character in mockery of George Hunt, his own school-master in the grammar school at Stratford-on-Avon.

Mulcaster's advanced views on educational matters, taken with his practical success in teaching, have earned for him the title of the greatest of Elizabethan school-masters. In his *Positions*, which is still studied by educationalists, he lays stress upon the need of a system of training for the profession of teaching, and he declares that "I am tooth and nail for women in matters of education." He insists upon the importance of physical exercise as a part of a child's training, and, like Ascham, writes in praise of archery as a "principall exercise in the preseruing of health," nearly thirty years before John Lyon embodied the well-known proviso in his statutes for Harrow School that every boy should possess "bow shafts, bow strings, and a bracer to exercise."

Mulcaster's linguistic and scholastic criticisms, as set forth in his *Elementarie*, are of literary interest, but it must be admitted that his prose tends to imperil his thesis that English speech is as precise as Latinity itself.

After having been high master for twelve years, Mulcaster resigned in 1608. Queen Elizabeth, who had always evinced a kindly feeling for his welfare, and to whom he had dedicated his *Positions*, presented him with the rectory of Stamford Rivers in Essex, to which he retired, and losing his wife, to whom he had been united for half a century, he recorded his loss in a touching epitaph in which he stated that, "she was wife to Richard Mulcaster, by antient parentage and lineal descent an esquire borne, who by the most famous Queen Elizabeth's prerogative was made parson of this church." He survived his loss only a little more than a year, and was buried by the side of his wife in the chancel of the church of which in his old age he had been rector, but no monument was erected to his memory.

The boys of St. Paul's on two separate occasions during Mulcaster's high mastership made speeches to King James I when he passed the school in state. Following the precedent set in the case of his two predecessors, Queens Mary and Elizabeth, on the first occasion, when the King was proceeding to his coronation,¹ "the Quiristers of the Church having finished their anthem from the lower battlements of the Cathedral Temple, a Latine oration was *viva voce* delivered to his Grace by one of Maister Mulcaster's Schollers at the dore of the Free-schole founded by the Mercers."

The main interest in the speech which was delivered lies for us in the statement which is made in it that the school was founded in Henry VII's reign, at a date—that is to say—earlier than April 21, 1509, the day on which that King died.

Three years later,² when James the First made another public entry into the city with his brother-in-law, the King

¹ Nichols' *Progresses of King James*, i. 367.

² *Ibid.*, ii. 68.

of Denmark, in the course of which "they came to Paule's churchyard, where at the Schoole of the Worshipfull Companie of Mercers, called Paules Schoole, there were other delightful speeches delivered, to which they graciously hearkened, and honourably accepted."

It will be noticed that in both these chronicles a totally wrong impression is given as to the relations in which the Mercers' Company stood to the school.

On July 30 in the same year "The youtnes of Paules, commonly called the children of Paules, plaide before the two kings a play called *Abuses*, containing both a comedie and a tragedie, at which the kings seemed to take great delight and be much pleased."

The flogging propensities which Mulcaster had imbibed from Nicholas Udall at Eton were tempered by a grim humour, which the following story, as related by an old writer, illustrates. "He being one day whippinge a boy, his breeches being down, and he ready to inflict punishment uppon him, out of his insulting humour he stood pausing a while over his breech; and there a merry conceit taking him he said, 'I aske ye bannes of Matrymony between this boy his buttockes of such a parish on ye one side and Lady Birch of ye parish on ye other side, and if any man can shew any lawfull cause why yey should not be joyned together let yim speake, for yis is ye last time of askinge.' A good sturdy boy and of a quick conceit stood up and sayd, 'Master I forbid ye bannes.' The master takinge this in dudgeon sayd, 'Yea Sirrah, and why so?' The boy answered, 'Because all partyes are not agreed.' Whereat the master likinge that witty answer spared the one's fault and the other's presumption."

In spite of his severe discipline, however, Mulcaster does not appear to have been able to control the behaviour of his pupils when out of school, for, in "John Howes, Virger,

his presentment," at the visitation of St. Paul's Cathedral by Bishop Bancroft in 1598, appears the following¹—

"Item I present the Maister of Powles Schoole and other schole maisters nere adjoyning to the Church, for suffering their children to play in the Churchyard, whereby the windows are broken, and well-disposed people in the Church disquieted at the time of Divine Service."

The first record of the award of prizes in the school is to be found in Mulcaster's high mastership, for in the year 1600 appears the following entry in the accounts: "Given to Mulcaster to distribute among the boys at the apposition, 5s." The sum distributed was increased to 10s. in 1601, and again in the following year to 20s., and at this figure it remained until 1640, at which date it appears to cease.

An entry is extant to the effect that in 1600 the "Usher's house was raised," and compensation was paid to "Thomasyn Rode, widdowe, for hurtes done" thereby to her house. It is possible that this enlargement of the usher's dwelling was for the purpose of accommodating boarders, but of this there is no corroborative evidence.

The very scarce *Catechismus Paulinus* which Mulcaster wrote, and which consists of a paraphrase with some amplifications of the Catechism of the Church of England into Latin elegiacs, was published in 1601. From the almost unique copy which is extant in the Bodleian Library it appears that the preface was written in November 1599, and it is of interest from the fact that Mulcaster very shortly after his appointment addressed the Mercers on the difficulties with which he had been beset on entering upon his mastership.

The writer refers to the fact that the school was reduced in numbers (*attrita*), and regrets that many desirable improvements cannot be immediately effected. To raise

¹ W. S. Simpson, *Reg. Stat.*

the standard of admission was the first duty which the new high master had set himself. By the founder's statutes no boy was to be admitted unless he could read and write "competently," and knew his Catechism. Even this modicum of knowledge appears not to have been insisted upon by Harrison, for Mulcaster declares his intention of restoring the wise strictness of the founder, lest the school should sink from its position "*ne Abecedariam velle videar, quam ille grammaticam scholam instituit.*"

The outcome of the trouble which Harrison had given to the Mercers is to be found in the fact which is recorded under the date March 4, 1597, to the effect that "the assistants and learned men met at Mercers' Hall to establish orders for the Schole."

The result of their deliberations is to be found in the Amending Ordinances promulgated by the Court of Assistants on June 24, 1602, in virtue of the power given by the founder's statutes to "the most honest and substanciall feloshipp of the mercery of London . . . with such other counsell as they shall call vnto theme good litterid and lernyd menne, They to adde and diminish vnto this boke and to supply in it euery defaute, And also to declare in it euery obscurity and derkness as tyme and place and iust occasion shall requyre."

The Mercers consulted Thomas Fleming, the Solicitor-General, and Thomas Foster, "counsellor at Lawe." The preamble of the amending ordinances begins—

"Forasmuch as of late much scruple and doubt hathe beene made upon sundrie the said ordinances about the right understandinge thereof, whereby great suite & controversie hath arrisen betwene us & the late High Scholemaister of Pawles Schole, John Harrison, with the surmaister & usher to our great charge vexation and trouble."

These ordinances provided for the replacement of the

priest or chaplain by an under usher, and for conformity with the laws of the realm in regard to religious observances. They forbade any payment for teaching to be made to any of the masters of the school. Permission was given to employ a poor man in place of the poor scholar to sweep the school and the leads.

Owing to the rise in the rents and profits of Dean Colet's estates to twice their original value, the salaries of the masters and the allowances to the officers of the company entrusted with the care of the school and its property were doubled.

These ordinances removed the founder's restriction of expenditure on the surveyor-accountant's "little dinner" to four nobles, and allowed the Mercers to expend such sum as they "shall in their discreation thinck fitt, soe as the same be expended in frugall manner without excesse."

Finally it was provided that the surplus ordered by Colet to be kept in an iron chest at Mercers' Hall should either be spent on exhibitions tenable by Paulines at the Universities, or else should be lent out by the Mercers on good security to poor young men of the company at the risk of the Mercers.

Few of Mulcaster's pupils at St. Paul's attained to any distinction. Michael Boyle, who was also no doubt at Merchant Taylors', became Dean of Lismore, and later was created Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. His kinsman, Richard Boyle, also gained preferment in Ireland. He became Dean of Waterford, Bishop of Cork, Cloyne and Ross, and finally Archbishop of Tuam.

John Hassall, a contemporary at St. Paul's of Richard Boyle, rose to be Dean of Norwich, and Samuel Browne became a well-known divine. Three of Mulcaster's pupils who went from St. Paul's with exhibitions to Oxford also held scholarships from Merchant Taylors' School at St.

John's College, Oxford, but the arrangement by which the high master effected this has never been discovered.

One of Mulcaster's pupils, Arthur Best by name, who went up to Cambridge with an exhibition in 1599, was in addition the recipient of the benefits of another endowment. Dr. Thomas Watts, Dean of Bocking and Archdeacon of Middlesex, who died in 1577, bequeathed part of his estate to Pembroke Hall, Cambridge, for the maintenance of seven scholars with a general preference to boys educated at metropolitan schools.¹ One of the first who enjoyed the benefits of this was Lancelot Andrews, Mulcaster's distinguished pupil at Merchant Taylors'. A list of these scholars down to the year 1636 and containing about eighty names, of which less than half are those of Londoners, is preserved in the Bodleian.

The names of only three of them are those of boys who are known to have been educated at St. Paul's, that of Best being the first.

¹ H. B. Wilson, *M. Ts. Schl.*, vol. i. p. 24, vol. ii. p. 557.

CHAPTER X

MILTON'S SCHOOL-MASTER

ALEXANDER GILL, SENR., HIGH MASTER 1608-1635

ON the retirement of Richard Mulcaster, Alexander Gill was, on March 10, 1608, elected in obedience to a Royal mandate—the reason for which is unknown—to take his place.¹ The new high master was forty-three years of age, having been born in Lincolnshire in 1565. We have no knowledge as to the school at which he was educated, but in 1583 he was elected to a scholarship at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where he graduated in due course, and took his M.A. degree in 1589. It is worth noting that, with the exception of Richard Jones, he was the first Oxford man to be elected high master since Lily, although practically a century had elapsed since Colet nominated the latter.

Of his career between the date of his degree and his appointment to St. Paul's nothing is known. His son Alexander was born in Norwich in 1597, and Anthony à Wood believed that he was a school-master in that city, but there is no justification for the statement that has been made that he was master of Norwich Grammar School.²

The twenty-seven years of his high mastership mark

¹ Cal. State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, p. 497 (Mar. 10, 1608-1609).

² Proceedings of British Academy; A. F. Leach, *Milton as Schoolboy and Schoolmaster*, p. 6.

the beginning of a career of distinction on the part of St. Paul's which is symbolized by the fact that his most distinguished pupil, the most famous in the whole list of Paulines, is no other than John Milton.

There is no record of any alteration to the actual school buildings during Gill's mastership. One adjunct, however, which from being a mere lean-to against the west wall of the cathedral had developed into a house in which lived the under usher, was during this time destroyed.

On June 19, 1620, the Lords of the Privy Council, at whose head appears the name of Abbott, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent a letter to the sheriffs of London, calling their attention to "this encroachment fastened to the Church, which doth much blemish the same," and desiring them without fail to see "that it was forthwith demolished and pulled down to the ground." That the building was of very little value appears from the fact that it was promptly razed to the ground by the school porter, who received the materials of which it had been built for his pains.

The late occupant of the house, one Thomas Ellis, whose name is given in the Order in Council, was not a master of the school, and it is probable that the house was sublet, the more so as Gill's son was under usher, and probably lived with his father in the high master's house. In spite of this fact the right to a residence had evidently become a recognized perquisite of the under usher, for from this time, until the rebuilding of the school after the Great Fire, an additional allowance of £3 6s. 8d. was made to the under usher in lieu of a residence.

The only other record of any interest as to the school building during this high mastership is to be found in the payment in 1614-15 of £3 10s., a considerable sum for those days, to Pawle Jackson, "for setting up Dr. Colette's

picture at the upper ende of the Schole." As far as we know this portrait remained *in situ* until the Great Fire.

That the mantle of Mulcaster as a flogging master fell on the shoulders of Gill may be inferred from the entry in Aubrey's *Brief Lives* to the effect that "often Dr. Gill whipped Duncombe, who was afterwards a colonel of Dragoons at Edgehill fight."

The same writer goes on to say, "Dr. Gill the father was a very ingeniose person, as may appeare by his writings. Notwithstanding he had his moodes and humours as particularly his whipping fits." From the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company it appears that on February 17, 1629, the complaint of a scholar, John Callis by name, against Mr. Gill was brought before the Court of Assistants, but the high master did not content himself with whipping his own pupils, for Aubrey relates how when "somebody had throwen a stone in at the window," a certain Sir John D., who was passing, was seized by the boys and beaten by Gill. The indignant knight "would have cutt the doctor, but he never went abroad but to church, and then his army went with him. He complained to the councill, but it became ridicule, and so his revenge sank."

Even Old Paulines were not immune from the high master's birch. According to the same authority, "Dr. Triplett came to give his master a visit, and he whipt him. The Dr gott Pitcher of Oxford who had a strong sweet base to sing under the schoole windowes, and gott a good guard to secure him with swords etc. & he was preserved from the examen of the little myrmidons which issued out to attack him." Thomas Triplett, the hero of this episode, who has not hitherto been identified as a Pauline, after graduating from Christ Church became a Canon of York and of Salisbury. His benefices were sequestrated by the Parliamentary party and he became

a school-master in Ireland. "One who went to his school in Dublin," says Aubrey, "tells how he had forgot the smart of his old master, Gill. He was very severe."¹

At the Restoration Triplett became Subdean and Canon of Westminster, where he is buried. To the treatment which he had received at the hands of Mr. Gill is no doubt attributable the fact that he robbed Paul to pay Peter, and left by his will a benefaction not to his old school but to Westminster, which is now of considerable value.²

Reference will be made in connection with the younger Gill to the song which he made his friend sing under the windows of the school, and which according to Aubrey "will last longer than any sermon that ever he made."

In carrying on the histrionic traditions of the school, Gill once again followed in the footsteps of his predecessor.

We read that on Quarter Day, 1617-18, "the scholars of Pawles made a play at the Mercers' Hall." On September 10, 1619, they acted at the Warden's feast at the same place, and under the year 1626-27 is the following entry: "Paid to the citty waites for Music, at the play that was acted by the Schollers, 5s."

What the plays were that were performed on these various occasions is not known, but that the comedies of Terence were included by the boys in their repertoire at this date may be judged from a little-known play-book published in 1627, and entitled "The two first Comedies of Terence called *Andria* and the *Eunuch*, newly Englished by Thomas Newman. Fitted for Schollers priuate action in their Schooles." Who Thomas Newman was is not known, but the "Epistle Dedicatorie" begins thus: "To the Schollers of Pavles Schoole T.N. wisheth increase in grace and learning. What I at first intended for mine

¹ Aubrey, *Lives*, vol. ii. p. 264.

² Sergeaunt, p. 99.

owne imployment to passe away spare time, and afterward purposed for your priuate exercise onely, is now made publique not by my free and voluntary election, but by an accident of neare nature to constraint.”¹ In *The Staple of Newes*, Ben Jonson, with the children of Paul’s in his mind, rails at school-masters who “Make all their schollers Play-boyes. Is’t not a fine sight to see all our children made Entertainers? Doe we pay our money for this? We send them to learne their grammer and their Terence and they learne their play-bookes.”²

It may be guessed that it was the skill of the boys of St. Paul’s in acting, as well as the general reputation of the school, which attracted the attention of Edward Alleyn, who, when contemplating the foundation of his College of God’s Gift in Dulwich, records in his Diary that on November 15, 1617, he visited the school and “gave to the boys of Powles the sum of one shilling.”

Another visitor to the school, one Peter Eisenberg, a Dane, who has left brief notes of the sights which he saw in London in 1614, remarks, “In St. Pauls School are 153 youths instructed gratis,” and it is to be hoped that no inference is to be drawn from the entry in the next line, “Many heads are on the Tower of London Bridge, fixed on spikes.”

That Gill took boarders at St. Paul’s may be inferred from an entry in the court minutes of the East India Company,³ under the date September 19, 1623: “James Troughton . . . leaves a boy, his kinsman, George Jackson, with Alexander Gill, master of Powles school, to whom £8 per annum of Troughtons wages are to be paid.”

Knight says of Gill that “he was esteemed by most persons

¹ *Pauline*, vol. viii. No. 41, Mar. 1890, p. 97.

² Act III. p. 50, ed. 1631.

³ Cal. State Paps., E. India, China, etc., 1622-1624.

to be a learned man, a noted Latinist critic and divine." That he was on terms of some intimacy with Laud, the escapade of his son, which caused him so much chagrin, and with which we shall deal later, affords ample evidence, and of his relations with the Mercers' Company, his dedication to *The Sacred Philosophie of Holy Scripture*, written in the year of his death, bears witness. More than twenty-five years, as he said, had elapsed since the government of the ancient and religious foundation had been committed to his care, and he could still write that "by your courtesie and discreet liberalitie I was cherished and nurtured and furthered, not onely to doe you service in myself, but likewise to give such education to my sonnes as hath made them fitte in their qualities to performe the like duties."

It is abundantly clear that Gill maintained at St. Paul's the teaching of Hebrew which Mulcaster appears to have introduced. There is extant a letter written by Milton in his first year at Cambridge, in which he thanks a friend for having sent him a Hebrew Bible from Hamburg, while the doggerel attack on the younger Gill, to which we shall have occasion to refer later, represents the high master as blaming his son, the usher—

"For thy faults not few,
In tongue Hebrew
For which a grove of birch is due."

Before his appointment to St. Paul's, Gill wrote *A Treatise concerning the Trinitie of Persons in Unitie of the Deitie*, a metaphysical remonstrance with an anabaptist of Norwich, which Smallridge strongly recommended to Atterbury a hundred years later.¹ While at St. Paul's he brought out *Logonomia Anglia*, in which he pleaded for the reform of English spelling by adding to the alphabet the Saxon symbols for *th*, and he further proposed to make it

¹ Epistolary Correspondence of Atterbury, Feb. 23, 1690-1691.

phonetic by using points over the vowels to indicate the various sounds. Another crotchet which he aired in this book, which is a strange medley of metaphysics and philology, was his desire to preserve the Saxon purity of the English tongue against Latinisms, the presence of which in the *Canterbury Tales* caused him to inveigh against Chaucer, "whence," as he said, "has come down this new mange in our speaking and writing." Gill's contemporary, Thomas Wilson, from whose *Arte of Rhetorique* Shakespeare got hints for the character of Dogberry, shared his dislike of "foreign phrases counterfeiting the king's English." According to Professor Masson, Gill showed a really fine taste in his illustrative examples selected from the English poets, but his appreciation of the Satires of Wither, whom he described as the English Juvenal, drew down upon him the wrath of Ben Jonson, who wrote of him in *Time Vindicated, presented at Court, Twelfth Night*, 1623, in which he denounced Wither, as Chiromastix—

". . . There is a schoolmaster
Is turning all his works too into Latin,
To pure satyric Latin ; makes his boys
To learn him ; calls him the time's Juvenal ;
Hangs all his school with his sharp sentences,
And o'er the execution place hath paynted
Time whip't for terror to the infantry."

On his death, in 1635, Alexander Gill was buried in the Mercers' Chapel. His widow received a pension until the year 1648, and his daughter, Annah Bannister, received grants from the company in 1666, and after having become a widow, in 1673.

The list of his distinguished pupils will show how far he deserves the praise of Anthony à Wood, who says of him, "He had such an excellent way of training up youth that none in his time went beyond him, whence it was that many noted persons in Church and State did esteem it the greatest

of their happiness that they had been educated under him." Before considering the names of his eminent pupils, however, we must refer to one very valuable new endowment which the school enjoyed for the first time during his high mastership, the existence of which had a very marked bearing on the careers of pupils of Gill and his successors.

Ever since 1565 there had been a stream of boys to one or other of the Universities, who received an annual allowance of £5 out of Dean Colet's estate. Up to the year 1612, some fifty Paulines had reaped the benefit of this endowment. In that year the value of the exhibitions, which was still £5 per annum, was doubled, and about forty more boys had enjoyed the additional advantage so accruing when, in 1632, the exhibition fund was largely augmented by the liberality of Sir Baptist Hicks, Viscount Campden, who by his will, made in 1629, amongst other devises, left one moiety of the tithes of the parish of Woodham, in the County of Northumberland (after the death of the then Earl of Northumberland, which occurred in 1632), to the Company of Mercers, in trust, to expend the income on the maintenance of exhibitioners at Trinity College, Cambridge, who were to be selected from the boys at St. Paul's School.

In 1634 the first two Campden Exhibitioners were appointed, the Mercers' Company undertaking to advance the necessary funds until the money came in from the property on the winding-up of the Duke of Northumberland's estate.

The original value of these exhibitions was £10 per annum, a figure at which they remained until 1802. The holders received this amount under the terms of the will, "until such Scholler and Schollers shall come to better preferment from Trinitie College."

Just before the Campden Exhibitions began to be

awarded, it was resolved by the Court of Assistants that scholars of St. Paul's must have been in the school for four years and no less before becoming entitled to be candidates for exhibitions. Allusion has already been made to the strange awards of exhibitions during Mulcaster's high mastership, and it is possible that the resolution in question, which is dated February 28, 1633, had some reference to these abuses, or to others of the same kind, by which boys entered the school for a few months merely to qualify themselves to become candidates for exhibitions.

Sir Baptist Hicks, Viscount Campden, the first benefactor to the school since the founder, was the son of a wealthy member of the Mercers' Company, and although there is no direct evidence to which one can point, the generous provisions of his will certainly suggest that he was educated at St. Paul's. He sat in five parliaments, first for Tavistock and then for Tewkesbury, and having been knighted soon after James I's accession, was created a baronet in 1620, and was raised to the peerage by Charles I in 1628.

Baptist Hicks is said, by Stow, to have lent money to the Scots nobles in the reign of James I, and in this connection it is of interest to quote a letter from him to his brother, Sir Michael Hicks, which is preserved among the Lansdowne MSS., in which he says, "the Scots are fayr speakers and slow performers," and in consequence he will give them no more credit.

Sir Michael Hicks, Lord Campden's elder brother, who was also not improbably at St. Paul's, graduated at Trinity College, Cambridge, and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. He was secretary to Lord Burghley, and, after his death, to Sir Robert Cecil, being described by his contemporaries as "very jocose and witty." He was a man of sufficient wealth to lend money to Francis Bacon and

Fulke Greville, and at the same time to entertain King James at his house. He died in 1612.

The names of about eighty Paulines educated under Alexander Gill the elder have been preserved. The vast majority of these have been extracted from the lists of Pauline exhibitors, but nearly a dozen have been recovered from the recently published admission registers of Caius College, Cambridge.

One of Gill's pupils, George Harris by name, held the Watts Scholarship at Pembroke College, Cambridge, to which reference has been made under Richard Mulcaster. He subsequently became under usher of the school during the high mastership of John Langley, but was dismissed in 1647 "in regard that he deserted the Schole of his own accord."

The first recorded mention of a poor scholar occurs during Gill's high mastership in the Mercer's accounts for 1624-5.¹ Six of Gill's pupils gained fellowships at the Universities. Of these, two became chaplains to King Charles I, two were ejected from their fellowships in 1644, and two were ardent supporters of the Parliamentary party.

Sir Roger Twysden, whose name has not hitherto appeared among lists of Old Paulines, was educated under Gill. He was the son of a Kentish gentleman, who was one of the original baronets of James I's creation, and succeeded to the title in 1629.

Although no action was taken against Sir Roger, he steadily refused to pay ship money, but the committal of Laud, and the attainder of Strafford, served to change views and caused him to oppose the Parliament. He devoted his life to the study of historical antiquities, and his writings are of much importance. It is impossible to believe that Sir Roger's younger brother, Sir Thomas Twisden, who

¹ R. B. G., vol. i. p. 35.

entered Emmanuel with him on the same day, was not also at school with him at St. Paul's. He adopted the spelling Twisden by way of distinction from the rest of his family. He was called to the Bar. In 1654 he became a serjeant-at-law, and, as a reward for his loyalty, he was advanced to a puisne judgeship of the King's Bench, and was knighted in the year of the Restoration. Six years later a baronetcy was conferred upon him, and he retained his judicial rank until his death in 1613. It is possible that a third brother, John Twysden, a well-known physician, was also at St. Paul's.

Nothing is known of the place of education of Sir John Blackmore, the confidant of Cromwell, who after the Restoration became governor of St. Helena. It is most probable, however, that he was at St. Paul's, where his younger brother, William, went to school and gained an exhibition to Oxford. William Blackmore was ordained presbyter in 1647, but did not take the covenant. The Corporation of London, with which, no doubt, he had influence through his father, a gentleman living in Eastcheap, who was a distinguished member of the Fishmongers' Company, presented him to the living of St. Peter's upon Cornhill, where he remained until he was ejected in 1662. Another Old Pauline who suffered from the changes involved in the Restoration was George Lawrence, a violent Puritan, who was ejected from his post as preacher at the Hospital of St. Cross at Winchester.

The most distinguished man, after Milton, educated by Gill, was Sir Charles Scarborough, who was described in Aubrey's letters as "an ingeniose young student," at the time when he was a Pauline Exhibitioner at Caius. He was elected Fellow of Caius, but was ejected by the Parliament and migrated to Oxford. He was a Fellow of the Royal Society, and of the Royal College of Physicians, and



P. Harding del.]

[J. Brown sc.]

SIR CHARLES SCARBOROUGH, F.R.S., PRINCIPAL PHYSICIAN TO
CHARLES II, JAMES II AND WILLIAM III

[To face p. 166.]

became principal physician to Charles II, James II, and William III. He was M.P. for Camelford in the same Parliament as Pepys, who describes him as "a learned and incomparable anatomist." He was a benefactor to the school library in 1674 and the following year. His son Edmund was at St. Paul's under Gale, and, according to Fuller, Sir Charles Scarborough revised Lily's Latin Grammar, "calculating his short, clear and true *rules* for the *meridian*" of this boy. Sir Charles worked on the generation of animals with William Harvey, who bequeathed his surgical instruments and his velvet gown to "my lovinge friend Mr. Doctor Scarborough," and it is interesting to note that Thomas Arris, the son of Sir Charles' chief assistant, was educated at St. Paul's with the great physician's son.

The recent publication of the registers of Caius College has led to the discovery of a pupil of Gill whose career is of some interest. Eleazer Dunkon, the son of a London doctor, after taking his degree, became a fellow and tutor of Pembroke, was prebendary in turn of Durham, Winchester, and York, and was appointed chaplain to Charles I. He was one of the most able and learned supporters of Laud's High Church policy. Having been stripped of his preferment he retired to the Continent, and in 1651 was in attendance on the English Court abroad. In that year Evelyn heard him officiate in Sir Richard Browne's chapel in Paris, and shortly afterwards he became chaplain to the Levant Company, and it was, no doubt, concerning his work in that capacity that Cosin, in 1659, wrote to Sancroft, "Now all his imployment is to make sermons before the English Merchants at Ligorne and Florence." The exact date of his death is unknown, but there is no doubt that had he not died before the event which his contemporaries described as "the miracle of our happy restauration" he would have been appointed to a bishopric.

It is more than probable that Dunkon's two brothers were also Old Paulines ; the elder, John, a religious author, was deprived of his cure and found shelter in the house of Lady Falkland, while Edmund, who was a Puritan, was intimate with George Herbert, and saw through the press his MS. of *A Priest to the Temple*.

Among the more distinguished pupils of the elder Gill must be mentioned Nathaniel Culverwell, a learned divine and Fellow of Emmanuel, one of the first of the Cambridge Platonists, the theologians for whom Bishop Burnet claimed "the high credit of having saved the Church of England from losing the esteem of the kingdom." His work, *The Light of Nature*, has been described as "a treatise of remarkable eloquence, power and learning."

It is probable that the boy named Richard Culverwell, whose name occurs in the registers of the school, was a brother of the Cambridge divine. Nothing is known of his career with the exception of the fact that he was, in 1634, one of the first two exhibitioners elected under Lord Campden's endowment.

Thomas Horton, the son of a member of the Mercers' Company, was contemporary with the elder Culverwell at that most Puritan of colleges, Emmanuel. He held an exhibition for ten years, in the course of which he was elected to a fellowship at Queens', of which college he was intruded as President by the Parliamentary visitors in 1648. Seven years earlier he had been elected Gresham Professor of Divinity. He was obliged to resign on the Restoration, and died thirteen years later, an incumbent of a city living.

Sir Thomas Heath, a Master in Chancery, became Comptroller of the Household to Sheldon, the Archbishop of Canterbury; Charles Gatacre, a well-known theological writer, became chaplain to Lucius Carey, Viscount

Falkland ; and William Burton, head master of Kingston Grammar School, achieved some distinction as a classical scholar.

One of the pupils of Gill who achieved some distinction not unmixed with ridicule was Barton Hollidaie, who before coming to St. Paul's was a chorister at Christ Church, Oxford, a college at which, as an exhibitioner of St. Paul's, he gained a studentship. He became a famous preacher and chaplain to Charles I, was Archdeacon of Oxford, translated Persius, Juvenal and Horace, and was buried in the choir of Christ Church. As Archdeacon of Oxford he wrote a pedantic comedy, "an obliquity of distorted wit," Isaac D'Israeli calls it, which was acted before James I in 1630. According to Anthony à Wood, "being too grave for the king and too scholastic for the auditory, or as some have said, the actors having taken too much wine, his majesty offered several times after two acts to withdraw," but out of courtesy to his Oxford hosts he was prevailed to sit out the remaining three acts, a fact upon which the following lines were written—

"At Christ Church marriage done before the king,
Lest that those mates should want an offering,
The King himself did offer—What, I pray ?
He offered twice or thrice—to go away !"

The date of Milton's entry at St. Paul's School is not known. Anthony à Wood, who quotes from a "friend who was well acquainted with, and had from him (Milton) and from his relations after his death most of this account," declares¹ that he went up to Cambridge at the age of fifteen, and speaks of his staying up late at night at Christ's, "as at school for three years before." From this statement, if accurate, it would appear that Milton entered St. Paul's

¹ Wood, *Fasti*, p. 262.

either at the end of 1621 or early in 1622 ; but its value as hearsay evidence is not very great. It is known as a certain fact that Milton matriculated at Cambridge in 1624, at the age, not of fifteen, but of sixteen and a quarter, and, as Professor Masson has pointed out, Milton's lifelong friendship with Charles Diodati was formed at St. Paul's, and since Diodati went to Oxford in February 1621-2, we must allow more than a possible term for the friendship to ripen. For this reason he fixes Milton's entry at St. Paul's in 1620.

His own account of his school-days suggests an earlier date than 1620¹—

“My father destined me, while yet a little boy, for the study of humane letters, which I seized with such eagerness that from the twelfth year of my age I scarcely ever went from my lessons to bed before midnight ; which indeed was the first cause of injury to my eyes, to whose natural weakness there were also added frequent headaches. All which not retarding my impetuosity in learning he caused me to be daily instructed both at the grammar school and under other masters at home ; and then, when I had acquired various tongues, and also some not insignificant taste for the sweetness of philosophy, he sent me to Cambridge, one of our two national universities.”

In view of the fact that at the age of eleven, *i.e.* in 1618, Milton was astonishing his father's household with his Latin verses, the making of which was not taught in forms lower than the fourth, which in the ordinary course he would reach in three years, we may safely state that he went to school in 1615. Aubrey has the statement, “When he went to school, when he was very young he studied very hard and sat up very late, commonly till twelve or one o'clock at night, and his father ordered the maid to sit up

¹ *Defensio Secunda*, Works, vi. 286.

for him." Speaking of a time when the average age at which boys entered public schools was eight or nine, it is impossible to insist on 1620, when the boy was thirteen years old, as the date of his entry in view of this assertion as to his having gone to school when "very young."

The influence upon Milton of his school days, spent under the shadow of the great Gothic cathedral, cannot be denied. It was at St. Paul's School that he learned to

"love the high embowèd roof,
With antique pillars massy proof,
And storied windows richly dight,
Casting a dim religious light;
There let the pealing organ blow
To the full-voiced choir below
In service high and anthem clear,
As may with sweetness, through mine ear,
Dissolve me into ecstasies
And bring all heaven before mine eyes."

It was certainly not the chapel of Christ's, nor even Great St. Mary's at Cambridge which inspired the Puritan Poet with this picture of an ancient church, so different in its sentiment from that which inspired the vandalism of those who shared his political views.

Philips says that at St. Paul's the poet "was entered into the rudiments of learning and advanced therein with . . . admirable success, not more by the discipline of the school and the good instructions of his masters . . . than by his own happy genius, prompt wit and apprehension, and insuperable industry."

Whatever was the date at which Milton was sent to St. Paul's by the Bread Street scrivener whose son he was, it is certain that he entered the school about the middle of the elder Gill's tenure of office, and both the high master and his son, who became under usher in 1621, exercised great influence over the precocious school-boy. In Milton's early

acquaintance with Spenser is directly traceable the influence of old Mr. Gill, whose *Logonomia Anglica* is full of illustrations from the *Faerie Queen*, while the writer declares that he prefers Spenser to Homer. As Professor Masson has remarked, "If Gill was only half as interesting in his school-room as in his book, he must have been an effective and even delightful teacher."

All that remains of the poet's boyish attempts at versification is to be found in two paraphrases of the Psalms, "done by the author at fifteen years old," which were therefore written in the last year of his school-days at St. Paul's.

His version of Psalm cxiv begins—

"When the blest seed of Terah's faithful son
After long toil their liberty had won,
And passed from Pharian fields to Canaan land,
Led by the strength of the Almighty's hand,
Jehovah's wonders were in Israel shown;
His praise and glory were in Israel known."

The first lines of his rendering of Psalm cxxxvi are as follows—

"Let us with a gladsome mind
Praise the Lord, for He is kind.
For His mercies aye endure,
Ever faithful ever sure.

Let us blaze His name abroad,
For of gods He is the God."

The epithets of fine poetic force which are scattered through these two paraphrases are, like those in the rest of his early work, traceable in large measure to Edmund Spenser; but they appear also to have to some extent been inspired by a source less agreeable to the high master, Geoffrey Chaucer "of unlucky omen," as Gill described him in his book.

Dr. Johnson's opinion of these metrical versions of the



JOHN MILTON

DRAWN AND ETCHED MDCCCLX BY I.B. CIPRIANI A TVSCAN FROM
A PICTURE PAINTED BY CORNELIVS IOHNSON MDCXVIII NOW IN THE
POSSESSION OF THOMAS HOLLIS OF LINCOLN'S INNE F.R. AND A.S.S.

WHEN I WAS YET A CHILD NO CHILDISH PLAY
TO ME WAS PLEASING ALL MY MIND WAS SET
SERIOVS TO LEARN AND KNOW AND THENCE TO DO
WHAT MIGHT BE PVBLIC GOOD MY SELF I THOUGHT
BORN TO THAT END BORN TO PROMOTE ALL TRVTH
ALL RIGHTEOVS THINGS

PARAD. REG.

C. Jannsen pinx.

[Cipriani sc.]

JOHN MILTON AS A SCHOOLBOY AT ST. PAUL'S

[To face p. 172.]

Psalms was characteristic. "They raise," he says, "no great expectations ; they would in any numerous school have obtained praise, but not excited wonder."

It is said that Mr. Gill on one occasion set the boys of St. Paul's a verse theme to write on the miracle of Cana, and that Milton showed up on his slate the single line—

"The conscious water saw its God and blushed,"

This line Richard Crashaw turned into the Latin epigram—

"Nympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit,"

a mere transposition of which was produced by Dryden at Westminster, when a Latin theme was set at that school thirty years after it had been set to Milton at St. Paul's.

There can be little doubt that there is an autobiographical strain in those lines of *Paradise Regained* which Cipriani inscribed under his engraving of Janssen's portrait of the poet as a boy—

"When I was yet a child, no childish play
To me was pleasing ; all my mind was set
Serious to learn, and know, and thence to do
What might be public good : myself I thought
Born to that end, born to promote all truth
And righteous things."

Interesting though it is to trace in Milton the influence of "old Mr. Gill's" *Logonomia Anglia*, it is of more interest still to consider the manner in which the "auctors Christian" prescribed by Colet, and still in use in the school a hundred years after his death, can be seen to have moulded the poet's thoughts and diction.

Traces of the views expressed by Lactantius on the second Person of the Blessed Trinity are to be found in the fifth book of *Paradise Lost*. The first lines of Proba's *Centones Virgiliani*, which runs—

"Nec libet Aonio de vertice ducere Musas,"

undoubtedly inspired the exordium to *Paradise Lost* which speaks of—

“my adventurous song,
That with no middle flight intends to soar
Above the Aonian mount.”

No instances of Milton's indebtedness to Sedulius and Juvencus, the next two authors recommended by Colet, have been pointed out.

The same cannot be said of Prudentius. It cannot be doubted that his *Hamartigenia*; or, *Origin of Sin*, which is said to contain the first description written in poetry of the Christian heaven and hell, and sets out in detail how the devil was a subordinate prince who had fallen through envy, gave Milton his first inspiration for Satan in *Paradise Lost*, while his *Psychomachia*; or, *War of the Virtues and Vices*, suggested to him the war in heaven in the same poem.

In Prudentius also may be seen the germ of Milton's hymn “On the Morning of Christ's Nativity,” curiously interwoven with learning from the *Bucolics* of Baptista Mantuanus, and in this last author may be seen some of the sources of the poet's inspiration from which he framed the pastoral setting of *Lycidas*.

Enough has been said to show the influence of his reading at St. Paul's upon the young poet. When he expressed the wish—

“But let my due feet never fail
To walk the studious cloisters pale,”

he was referring back to an experience, not of Cambridge, but of St. Paul's, where the cathedral cloisters almost adjoined the school. It has been suggested, with good reason, that the epithet “studious” may lead us to infer that at St. Paul's, as at Winchester in what is still called “cloister time,” during the heat of summer the boys deserted the school-room, closely crowded as it was with a

hundred and fifty boys, for the cool and spacious cloisters in which to learn their lessons.

Though the influence of the elder Gill on Milton was not slight, that of his son, who became surmaster in 1621, was far greater. In 1623, Milton's last year at school, occurred the "fatal vespers" in Blackfriars, the fall of a Catholic chapel in which more than a hundred worshippers were killed, a catastrophe which the more bigoted section of public opinion, inflamed against the "Spanish match," regarded as a judgment of God. This event inspired Gill to write verses "In Ruinam Camerae Papisticae Londini," in which he declared, "though our benignant Prince sees fit to let you meet for your idolatrous worship, God himself takes the cause in hand," a sentiment which must have approved itself to the Pauline who, as a Cambridge man, was to write of the religion which his father had abandoned as—

"what the grim wolf with privy paw
Daily devours apace."

We have no definite evidence of the political proclivities of the younger Gill until a time later than that at which Milton left St. Paul's, but we can infer from what we know of his views at a later date that a sympathy existed between master and boy at this time, based on a hatred of the system of government followed under the direction of Buckingham and Laud.

Milton left St. Paul's to enter Christ's College, Cambridge, early in 1624. He did not go up to the University as a holder of an exhibition from the school.

The entry in the Christ's register runs as follows—

"Johannes Milton Londinensis, filius Johannis, institutus fuit in literarum sub Mag'ro Gill Gymnasii Paulini, prae-fecto ; admissus est Pensionarius Minor Feb. 12. 1624."

Robert Pory, whose name comes next to that of Milton

in the registers of St. Paul's, was also admitted as a pensioner of Christ's at the same time. His career was very different from that of his school-fellow. He was driven from his city living during the rebellion, but at the Restoration became Archdeacon of Middlesex and Prebendary of St. Paul's, and in the same year took the degree of S.T.P. by Royal mandate, "for his particular and eminent sufferings for Ourselves and the Church." It is said that *Poor Robin's Almanack*, the first edition of which appeared in 1663, was so called in derision of Robert Pory, whose imprimatur it professed to bear.

Three letters, written in Latin, from Milton to Gill are extant. The first two are dated from Cambridge. The earliest, despatched on May 20, 1628, was written to thank the school-master for some Latin verses on a victory of Prince Henry of Nassau, Stadtholder of Holland, and to express the extent to which he felt honoured in "having been made by you a judge of so famous a poem," which he described as "fine and smacking throughout of true poetic dignity and Virgilian wit."

That there is a gap in the correspondence is shown by the terms of the next letter which has been preserved, written on July 2 of the same year, only a few months before Gill was haled before the Star Chamber under circumstances which shall be described in their proper place. In this letter the undergraduate enclosed a copy of verses written by himself for the Commencement at Cambridge, "knowing you," he says, "to be a very severe judge in poetical matters and a very candid judge of my productions." He goes on to say, "If you think fit to communicate to me yours in return, there will certainly be no one who will find more pleasure in them, though there may be, I admit, those who will more correctly appraise their worth."

In the same letter, which, like the other two, shows a

close and uniformly respectful personal and literary intimacy, he proceeds, "In truth, whenever I recall your almost continuous conversations with me (which even in Athens—in the University itself—I miss) I think at once and not without regret of how much benefit my absence from you has robbed me, who never left your company without a clear gain and ἐπίδοσις of literary knowledge, just as if I had been to some emporium of learning." The last letter extant, like the first, contains the thanks of the pupil for some verses of his master. It is written "from my home in the country, December 4, 1634," the year in which *Comus* was produced at Ludlow Castle, at a time when Gill appears to have been teaching once again at St. Paul's, probably in an unofficial capacity, as assistant to his father, the high master.

Milton's praise of Gill's verses in this letter, where he speaks of them as "an elegant and beautiful poem," is as enthusiastic as in that of six years earlier. The poet, in return, sent him a composition in Greek heroic verse, and bade his recipient take note that, "if anything strikes you as not satisfactory according to your usual estimate of my work, remember that this is my first composition in Greek since I left your school, though, as you know, I have practised with more pleasure in both Latin and English." This letter, the last light which has been shed on Milton's intimacy with Gill, closes by making an appointment for a meeting at a London bookshop on the following Monday.

Mention has already been made of Milton's school-boy friendship with Diodati. Charles Diodati was the son of Theodore Diodati, a Protestant exile from Lucca, who was the medical attendant of Prince Henry, and to whom Florio acknowledged his indebtedness in his translation of Montaigne's *Essays*.

After leaving Oxford, Charles Diodati, who was a friend

of Lord Herbert of Cherbury, practised physic at Chester. While he was still in residence at Trinity, Milton addressed to him from Christ's the first of his elegies, beginning—

“Tandem, chare, tuae mihi pervenere tabellae,
Pertulit et voces nuncia charta tuas.”

Three years later Milton addressed the sixth of his Latin elegies to the young doctor, “ruri commorantem,” whom he calls “lepidum sodalem,” and whom he had described as—

“Pectus amans nostri, tamque fidele caput.”

To a letter from Diodati, who in sending him some verses asked for some of Milton's in return, the poet answered protesting that his love was too great to be conveyed in metre. Two letters from Milton in Latin, written in September 1637, have been preserved, and show the close friendship which subsisted between the two, and in the British Museum are preserved two letters in Greek from Diodati to his friend.¹

Milton's Italian sonnet, beginning—

“Diodati (e te 'l dirò con maraviglia),”

was written in 1639, a year after Diodati's untimely death ; but the most striking testimony to Milton's affectionate regard for his school-fellow is to be found in his “Epitaphium Damonis,” in the introduction to which he describes him as “ingenio, doctrina, clarissimisque coeteris virtutibus, juvenis egregius,” a poem which, had it been written in English, would have been as well known as *Lycidas*, the equal of which it almost is in pathos and poetic expression.

The last of the associations which bind Milton to St. Paul's with closer links than those subsisting between any other great poet and his school, is to be found in his brother, Christopher Milton.

¹ Add. MSS. 5016, f. 64.

He was born in 1615, and, in consequence, we may presume that he entered St. Paul's just before his brother left school. He took the Royalist side in the Great Rebellion, and was fined £200 for serving as Commissioner of Sequestrations for the King. He was within the walls of Exeter during the siege of 1646. A barrister by profession, he was raised to the Exchequer Bench by James II, four days after being invested with the coif. In 1687 Sir Christopher Milton was transferred to the Common Pleas, of which he was made Chief Justice, being dispensed from taking the oath as he had returned to the Church of his fathers. Professor Masson pictures him as "a mild, gentlemanly Roman Catholic judge, of no particular ability," and there seems no ground for the statement in the registers of the school that he was dismissed by the King in 1688. He retired on a pension in that year.

Through the kindness of Dr. Peile, Master of Christ's College, there have been planted in the fore-court of the new school cuttings from the venerable mulberry-tree which is said to have been planted by Milton in the garden of Christ's.

CHAPTER XI

A TURBULENT HIGH MASTER

ALEXANDER GILL, JUNR., HIGH MASTER 1635-1640

ON the death of Alexander Gill the elder, his son and namesake was elected to succeed him. He was the first high master who was an Old Pauline. Although much of the history of the new high master's life ought, from a chronological point of view, to have been dealt with in the last chapter, I have deliberately avoided giving it more than a passing reference in order that the whole career of one of the most remarkable of school-masters may be read without a break.

Alexander Gill the younger was born, as we have seen, at Norwich in 1597. It may be assumed that he entered St. Paul's immediately on his father's appointment in 1608; it is, at any rate, certain that in 1612 he was one of the three exhibitioners sent from St. Paul's to the Universities. In the same year he matriculated from Trinity College, but some months later migrated to Wadham, a college which had just been founded, and in the following year he was appointed the first Bible clerk of that college. He had a great reputation as a writer of Greek and Latin verses. In 1621, two years after taking his M.A., he was appointed under usher to his father at St. Paul's, some years after John Milton had entered the school, and during the years in which the poet was at school, an intimacy, as we have

seen, between the master and the pupil sprang up, to which Milton's letters bear ample witness. Before becoming a master at St. Paul's, Gill was probably an usher to the celebrated Thomas Farnaby, to whom, in January 1621, he sent a copy of verses "cum utre vini pleno."

Having restored his name to the books of Trinity, he took his B.D. degree in 1627. That his career hitherto had not been undisturbed may be inferred from a coarse piece of verse in a duodecimo volume entitled "The Loves of Hero and Leander, and other choice pieces of Drollery got by heart and often repeated by divers witty Gentlemen and ladies that use to walke in the New Exchange and at their recreations in Hide Parke." This collection was first printed in 1651, and reappears in *The Rump*, published 1660, and in it occurs a piece of doggerel called "Gill upon Gill; or, Gill . . . uncased, unstript, unbound." This is, in fact, the ballad by Dr. Triplett to which reference has already been made. In it the elder Gill is represented as about to administer punishment to his son and colleague—

"Sir,"¹ it begins, "did you me this epistle send
Which is so vile, and lewdly penn'd,
In which no line I can espy
Of sense or true orthography.
So slovenly it goes,
In verse and Prose,
For which I must pull down your hose.
O² good Sir, then cry'd he
In private let it be,
And do not sawce me openly.
Yes³ Sir I'll sawce you openly
Before Sound⁴ and the Company,
And that none at thee may take heart,
Though thou art Batchelor of Art
Though thou hast paid thy Fees
For thy Degrees.

¹ Gill Senr., *loquitur*.

³ Gill Senr., *loquitur*.

² Gill Junr., *loquitur*.

⁴ The Surmaster.

First for the Theames which thou me sent
 Wherein much nonsense thou didst vent,
 And for that barbarous piece of Greeke
 For which in Garthen thou did'st seek.
 And for thy faults not few
 In tongue Hebrew,
 For which a Grove of Birch is due."

The father is represented by the writer as then turning from the particular cause of offence to the general record of unruliness of his son—

"Next for the offence which thou didst give
 When as in Trinity thou didst live,
 And for thy Blanketting
 And many such a thing
 For which thy name in Town doth ring,
 And none deserves so ill
 To heare as bad as Gill
 Thy name it is a proverb still
 Next, since thou a preacher were
 Thou vented hast such rascall Geere
 For which the Frenchmen all cry fie!
 To heare such Pulpit Ribauldrie."

In the first year of his undergraduate life, Gill had published a threnody on the death of Prince Henry of Wales, but his views with regard to the other members of the Royal family were destined later to involve him in serious trouble.

In the autumn of 1628, being on a visit to Oxford, after spending an evening drinking in the cellars of Trinity College he declared to his friends that in his opinion King Charles I, who had only been on the throne three years, was fitter to stand in a Cheapside shop with an apron before him and say, "What lack ye?" than to govern a kingdom,¹ and he went on to say that the Duke of Buckingham, whom Felton had murdered a few months before, had gone down to hell to meet King James there. That Felton's act

¹ Aubrey, *Brief Lives*.

was very popular with a large section of the English people may be deduced from the shouts of "God bless thee, little David!" and "The Lord comfort thee!" amid which the assassin had passed on his way to the Tower. One Sir Richard Savage was committed for publicly saying that if Felton had not done the deed, he would have done it himself, and our school-master and Bachelor of Divinity, in the same spirit expressed his regret that Felton, whose health he drank, had "deprived him of the honour of doing that brave act."

William Chillingworth,¹ with whom, so Sir William Davenant, the Poet Laureate, told Aubrey, Gill had for some years "held weekly intelligence, wherein they used to nibble at State matters," had received a letter from Gill some time before, in which "he called King James and his sonne, the old foole and the young one." This letter and the occurrence in the college cellar were communicated to Laud, who had just been appointed Bishop of London, and was in consequence Gill's Ordinary. The result was that during afternoon school on Friday, September 4, the boys of St. Paul's saw two poursuivants come and take their school-master out of the school to be examined by the Bishop of London. The upshot was that he was committed to the Gatehouse and kept so close prisoner that neither his father nor his mother, nor any of his friends were allowed to see him.

In his examination² on the following day in the Star Chamber, before Laud and Heath, the Attorney-General, Gill pleaded guilty to the allegations. The Vice-Chancellor of Oxford University was ordered to search the rooms of William Pickering, a friend of the accused, and found in his study and in the pockets of his clothes divers libels and letters,

¹ Aubrey's *Letters and Lives*, 1813, vol. ii. p. 285.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1628-29, 3252, 3192.

written by Gill, some dated 1626, which contained reflections on Buckingham. Among these were a set of verses which are extant,¹ in which his criticisms were directed, not at the sovereign but at his ministers—

“And now just God, I humbly pray,
That thou wilt take that slime away
That keeps my sovereign's *eyes* from viewing
The things that will be our undoing.
Then let him *hear* good God the sounds,
As well of men, as of his hounds.
Give him a *taste*, and timely too
Of what his subjects undergo,
Give him a *feeling* of their woes
And then, no doubt his royal nose
Will quickly *smell* those rascals' savours
Whose blacky deeds eclipse his favours
Though found and scourged for their offences,
Heaven bless my king and all his senses.”

The result of this domiciliary search was that Pickering was examined by the Attorney-General, and in the records of the examination it is interesting to see, in the first place, how Pickering took care to safeguard himself in the matter, and secondly how he endeavoured to expose Chillingworth, whom he had learnt that Diodati, another of Gill's friends, suspected of being the informer, and of having played the part of an *agent provocateur*.

“Alexander Gill,” said Pickering,² “was in his company in the cellar of his college, and some speeches passing about the Duke, Mr. Chillingworth asked Gill what he thought of King James. Gill answered that he and the Duke were together, and said if there were a Hell and a Devil surely the Duke was there. Being rebuked he replied, ‘Where can he be else?’ He began a health to Felton, and divers of the company including the examinant refusing, Gill said, ‘What, is Pick. a Dukist too?’ Gill used these

¹ Cal. S. P., Dom., vol. cxi. p. 240, No. 51, July 1628.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., vol. cxvii., Sept. 26, 1628.

words in a mad brain railing humour. He was not absolutely drunk, but he was far from sober. Gill and others were at a tavern two days before and then a health was drunk to Felton."

Sentence on Gill was pronounced in the Star Chamber in November, and was to the effect that he should be degraded from his ministry and degrees, should lose his two ears, one in Oxford and the other in London, and should be fined £2000, a sum which in view of his income he could not possibly have paid, so that it was equivalent to imprisonment for life. The prisoner, however, had friends at Court, so that, according to Aubrey,¹ "by the eloquent intercession and advocacy of Edward, Earle of Dorset, together with the teares of the poore old Doctor, his father, and supplication on his knees to his Majestie the terrible storme which pointed towards him was blowne over. I am sorry," the same writer sententiously adds, "that so great a witt should have such a naeve."

Laud having consented to forego the corporal punishment and mitigate the fine, "for his coats sake and love to his father," seconded his petition to the Sovereign, so that in two years, on November 30, 1630, a free pardon under the sign manual was granted by Charles I.²

The Star Chamber proceedings resulted, of course, in his dismissal from the post of under usher, in which his brother George succeeded him, but after he had been pardoned he received in 1631 a gratuity from the Mercers of £5, and in 1633 and 1634 of £10. According to his own statement he again became an usher in the school of Thomas Farnaby in Cripplegate, but he cannot have remained there long, and in view of the fact that his salary as under usher had been only £17 6s. 8d. it is difficult to

¹ Aubrey's *Letters and Lives*, ii. 285.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., 1629-31, vol. clxxv. p. 393.

believe that the sums paid to him by the Mercers in 1633 and 1634 were gratuitous donations. The elder Gill, who was in his seventy-first year in 1635, described his work on *The Sacred Philosophie of the Holie Scripture*, which appeared in that year, as "the legacie of a dying man," and it is most probable that the son, for the last few years of his father's life, assisted him in an informal capacity in the discharge of his duties.

That his *lèse majesté* was not forgotten is shown by a stanza in the verses which have already been quoted, which runs—

"But now remains the vilest thing
Thy ale-house barking 'gainst the K(ing)
And all his brave and noble Peeres
For which thou venturedst for thy eares,
And if thou hadst thy right
Cut off they had been quite
And thou hast been a rogue in sight."

After his pardon, however, Gill tried to retrieve his reputation and curry favour with the Court by publishing in 1632 a little volume of collected Latin verse, entitled—*πάρεργα sive Politici Conatus*, containing a fulsome dedication to the King and a profoundly respectful poem to Laud, and in addition he wrote much verse to other Royal and noble personages, as well as odes on the successes of Gustavus Adolphus in Germany. It is curious that Milton's friendship bore the strain of his loyalist effusions.

That his efforts were successful in making him a *persona grata* at Court the petition which he addressed to the King in 1639-40, which I shall have occasion to quote later, seems certainly to suggest. This much, however, is certain, that on November 18, 1635, on the very day following the death of his father, he was elected to succeed him as high master, and the haste with which the vacancy was in this way filled is certainly a significant incident in a strange career.

The first few lines of one of Gill's poems deserve quotation, since they were addressed to Penelope, the daughter of Viscount Campden, to whose husband, Edward Lord Noel, Lord Campden's patent of nobility gave a special remainder.¹

On Mistress Penelope Nowell, daughter of the Lord
Viscount Campden.

"How fast my greues come on, how thicke a shoole
Of sorrows rush vpon this frighted soule.
Was't not enough my deare Amintas late
Was taken from me by to early fate?
Was't not enoughe that on braue Sweden's horse
My Muse astonisht pinned her mournefull verse;
Butt thou, blest saint, before with carefull heede
My wounds were healed, makest them afresh to bleed,
And in my sorrows claimes as large a share
As thy rare beauty and thy vertues were."

This lady's son, Baptist Noel, prefixed a stanza of verses to the volume of poetry issued by Gill in 1632, which contained many Latin poems to members of the Campden family, and to which were also prefixed verses by Sir John Stonhouse and Thomas May, an unsuccessful candidate for the post of Poet Laureate on the death of Ben Jonson in 1637.

Six months after the election of the younger Gill to the high mastership, on May 17, 1636, Archbishop Laud held a visitation of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, and issued the following order—

"Item, that those officers of the Company of Mercers who for the time being claime and enjoy the government of the free School commonly called Paul's Schoole doe at some certaine time and place by you the Deane and twoe other of your Prebendaries Residentiaries appointed shew to you by what right the government of the said schoole is invested in them and render us an accompt of what you find."

¹ Wood, *Ath.*, iii. 43.

The answers made to the inquiries at this visitation are to be found in a MS. in the House of Lords,¹ which records that the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's replied, "Wee have neither schoolmr nor vs her vnder our government." The Minor Canons made answer, "We have no schoole but Paule's Schoole, which, though it be built within the precinct of the Churchyard yet it is now in the government of the Mercers of London as wee conceive. . . . Touching ye grammar schoole thate school which bears the name of St. Paule is built upon our ground, but the government is wholly in the Company of Mercers of London, by what right wee know not."

That Gill had been rehabilitated even in so monarchical a place as Oxford, is shown by the fact that he took his D.D. in the year in which he succeeded his father, but his career as high master was destined to be no less stormy than it had been when he was under usher. He was as great a believer in the birch as his father. Verses "On Doctor Gill, Master of Paule's Schoole," which occur in the same volume as those called "Gill upon Gill," which have already been quoted, bear witness to this—

"In Paul's churchyard in London
There dwells a noble Ferker,
Take heed you that passe
Lest you taste of his Lash,
For I have found him a jerker.
Still doth he cry,
'Take him up
Take him up Sir,
Untrusse with expedition,'
O the Burchen toole
Which he windes i' the Schoole
Frights worse than an Inquisition."

That his flogging propensities became proverbial is further seen from the fact that in an anonymous booklet

¹ Hist. MSS. Com. 4th Rep., 1874, p. 155, May 1636, p. 407.

by John Dunton, published as late as 1725, and called *A voyage round the world, or a pocket book, etc.*, occurs the phrase,¹ "I'll scourge them as bad as they ere did me, or the Doctor of Paul's School his maid Gillian," which is a reference to lines in the same verse which relate how "for a piece of Beef and Turnip, neglected with a Cabbage," served up by "his bouncing Mayd Gillian, He sowct her like a Baggage."

From the Mercers' minutes it appears that his severity and violent temper led him for some reason to expel two boys named Bennett in 1639. The elder of these must have been near the top of the school, for, having appealed to the Mercers' Company, he was, with his brother, readmitted, and in the same year was awarded an exhibition to the University. The high master must have borne them some malice, for after their readmission to the school Gill once more lost his temper with John Bennett, and dragged the boy by his ears round the schoolroom, until the under usher, Bartholomew Barnes, as he himself testified to the Governors, "took him off the boy with the words, 'What do you Dr. Gill?'" The Mercers, after an inquiry into the matter, warned the high master that at the ensuing annual re-election of masters in 1640 he would have to vacate his post.

On January 28, 1639-40, three weeks after his successor had been appointed, Gill appealed to the King in a petition which has already been referred to as throwing some light on Gill's election in 1635. The document runs as follows²—

"Your poor subject being through royal grace and favour chosen Master of Paul's School, London, by the Company of Mercers, has continued there above four years

¹ Vol. i. p. 59.

² Cal. S. P., Dom., vol. cdxliii. p. 389, 1639-40.

during which time he has discharged his duty in educating the scholars in piety, conformity, good manners and good literature, to the approval of the Mercers' Society and other learned men intrusted by them to inquire and judge of his efforts therein. Until of late your poor subject having good cause to believe that a great part of the revenues of the school is not employed according to the founder's intention, and having sometimes expressed his desire that there might be fair play above-board, that the school might have its own, and know its own, the feoffees are so incensed against your poor subject that upon the unjust accusation of a lying thieving boy, your poor subject's scholar and servant, whom they, to the spurning down of authority and discipline have maintained against his lawful teacher and master, they have picked a quarrel against your poor subject, and contrary to founder's statute, at an unlawful time in an unlawful place, without any just cause proved, have warned your poor subject to depart the school, he having no other livelihood in the world. Pray ask of your Princely clemency to give order for the school's and your poor subjects relief herein."

The king referred this petition to Laud and some other lords. The Mercers' Company, however, insisted on their right to deal with the high master as they pleased.

During his last year at the school Gill was refused the extra payments and gratuities allowed by the Mercers to the high master, and was only paid the statutory stipend laid down by the founder. An item of £13 7s. 11d. is entered in the school accounts as a charge for displacing him, and one may infer from this that he offered some resistance to his dismissal. On February 22, 1639-40, a pension of £25 was granted to him, and finally, at a later date, £50 was given him in discharge of his claims.

In view of the terms of his petition to the King these payments are certainly significant.

After his dismissal from St. Paul's he was engaged in private teaching in Aldersgate Street, and at length, as Anthony à Wood quaintly puts it, "after our author, Gill, had made many rambles in this world, he did, quietly, yet not without some regret, lay down his head and dye towards the latter end of the year sixteen hundred and forty-two." He was buried in St. Botolph without Aldersgate.

Wood was wrong in his statement as to the date of Gill's death. For a few months in 1643 and 1644, certainly for not more than a year in all, Gill was head master of Oakham School, in Rutlandshire.¹ His successor in that post was appointed on April 30, 1644.

It is strange that the Mercers gained their point in regard to Gill's dismissal in spite of the fact that the Archbishop decided in Gill's favour, on the ground that a school-master could not be deprived without the knowledge and approbation of his Ordinary.

It is an interesting fact that this judgment of Laud's was made the tenth charge, or particular, in support of the first three articles alleged against the Archbishop at his trial.

In "The History of the Troubles and Tryal of the Most Reverend Father in God William Laud, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury. Wrote by Himself, during his imprisonment in the Tower,"² the account written by the accused himself of the proceedings in the Upper House in relation to this matter is to be found—

"X. The next Charge was, That when Dr *Gill*, School-Master of *Paul's* School in *London*, was warned out by the *Mercers* (to the Care of which *Company* that School some way belongs) upon Dr *Gill's* Petition to the *King*, there was

¹ W. L. Sargant, *Book of Rutland School*.

² *Laud's Works*, iv. 80, 81, 1644, c. 23.

a Reference to some other Lords and myself to hear the Business. The Charge is that at this Hearing I should say, the *Mercers* might not put out Dr *Gill* without his *Ordinary's* Knowledge: And that upon mention made of an *Act of Parliament* I should reply, *I see nothing will down with you but Acts of Parliament; no regard at all of the Canons of the Church*: And that I should farther add, *That I would rescind all Acts which were against the Canons; and that I hoped shortly to see the Canons and the King's prerogative of equal force with an Act of Parliament*. To this I Answer'd; That if all this Charge were true, yet this is but the single Testimony of *Samuel Bland*, an Officer belonging to the Company of the *Mercers* and no small Stickler against Dr *Gill*, whose Aged Reverend Father had done that *Company* great Service in that School for many Years together.

"The Reference he grants was to me and others: So I neither thrust myself into the Business, nor was alone in it.

"*Can 77*. And as there is a *Canon* of this Church, That no Man may be allowed to Teach School, but by the *Bishop of the Diocese*; so *à paritate rationis*, it stands good, They may not turn him out, without the said Bishops Knowledge and Approbation. And 'tis expressed in another Canon: *Can. 79. That if any School-Master offend in any of the Premises* (there spoken of) *he shall be Admonished by his Ordinary; and if he do not amend upon that his Admonition, he shall then be Suspended from Teaching*; Which I think makes the Case plain, that the *Mercers* might not turn out Dr *Gill*, without so much as the Knowledge of his *Bishop*.

"And for the Words; That *I saw nothing would down with them but an Act of Parliament, and that no regard was had to the Canon*; I humbly conceive there was no offence in the Words. For though the Superiority by far in this Kingdom belongs to the *Acts of Parliament*; yet some regard doubtless, is or ought to be had to the *Canons*

of the Church: And if nothing will down with Men but *Acts of Parliament*, the Government cannot be held up in many Particulars.

“For the other Words, God forgive this Witness: For I am well assured, I neither did nor could speak them. For is it so much as probable, that I should say, *I would rescind all Acts that are against the Canons*? What power have I or any particular man to rescind *Acts of Parliament*? Nor do I think any Man that knows me will believe I could be such a Fool, as to say, That *I hoped shortly to see the Canons & the King's Prerogative equal to Acts of Parliament*; Since I have lived to see (and that often) many *Canons rejected*, as contrary to the Custom of the Place; as in choice of Parish-Clerks, and about the Reparation of some Churches; and the King's Prerogative discussed and weighed by Law: Neither of which hath, or can be done by any Judges to an *Act of Parliament*. That there is Malice in this Man against me, appears plainly; but upon what 'tis grounded I cannot tell: Unless it be, that in this business of Dr Gill, and in some other about placing Lecturers, (which in some Cases this Company of *the Mercers* took on them to do) I opposing it so far as *Law & Canon* would give me leave, crossed some way, either his Opinion in Religion, or his Purse-profit. I was (I confess) so much moved at the unworthiness of this Man's Testimony, that I thought to bind this Sin upon his Soul, not to be forgiven him till he did publickly ask me for Forgiveness for this Notorious Publick Wrong done me. But by God's Goodness I master'd my self; and I heartily desire God to give him a sense of this Sin against me his poor Servant, and forgive him. And if these words could possibly scape me, and be within the danger of that *Statute*; then to that *Statute*, which requires my Tryal within six months, I refer my self.”

It is a curious fact that Archbishop Laud, in his defence, did not cite, in addition to Chapter lxxvii of the Canons of 1603, the Act of Parliament of 1581, 23 Elizabeth, cap. 1, sec. 6, which also required that a school-master should be licensed by the Ordinary. The principle was re-enacted in later statutes, namely, the Act of Uniformity, 1662, and the Schism Act, passed by Bolingbroke under Swift's advice in 1714; and it was not till four years later that, by 5 George I, c. 4, the claim to ecclesiastical control over all education was withdrawn.

One of the most distinguished of Gill's pupils was Thankful Owen, who from the fact that he was the son of a gentleman at Taplow, appears to have been a boarder at St. Paul's. He was a Fellow of Lincoln and held a Pauline exhibition for thirteen years, from 1637 till 1650. In that year he was proctor and was intruded President of St. John's College by the Parliamentary visitors, and became known as the most important and active Independent divine in the university. "The peculiar purity of his Latin style" may well be traced to his education under Gill.

In 1660 he was ejected from the presidency of the college, and for the remaining twenty-one years of his life was a well-known supporter of the Independent cause.

The post of proctor which Owen resigned to become head of a House was filled by another Old Pauline, Samuel Lee by name, who was appointed by dispensation of the Parliamentary visitors, although he was not of sufficient standing as a Master of Arts, even though they had given him that degree a year after he entered. Being Fellow of Wadham, and a staunch Nonconformist, Cromwell gave him the living of St. Botolph's, Bishopsgate, and in 1650 he was made a Fellow of All Souls'. In 1686 he went to America and became a pastor in Rhode Island. It was said of him

that "hardly ever a more universally learned man trod the American strand." On his return to Europe, in 1691, he was captured by a French privateer, and died at St. Malo.

William Thomas, the third of Gill's pupils who is known to have gained a fellowship, was sub-dean of Wadham in 1647, was expelled as a Loyalist in the following year by the Parliamentary visitors, but it is curious to note that his Pauline Exhibition, which was granted in 1639, was paid until the year 1652.

Among Gill's pupils at Cambridge the more distinguished include Thomas Prujean, the son of Sir Francis Prujean, President of the College of Physicians, who became himself a Fellow of that body, and Thomas Smith, University Librarian, who translated Dean Colet's Sermon before Convocation, and was the author of a life of Colet translated from Erasmus' account of him, in his letter to Justus Jonas. Four of the pupils of this high master were elected to the Campden Exhibitions to Trinity, Cambridge, the first nominations to which, as we have seen, were made in the last year of his father's tenure of office. Of these four exhibitioners three were elected in 1635, and the fourth in 1639, the latter being the last elected for fifteen years. None of these have been traced although their names are known, but it is of interest to note that two of them received grants of money from the Mercers, possibly for the purpose of incepting in arts, five or six years after being elected to the exhibitions.

The names of only two "poor scholars" under Gill are known. William Hippesley preceded John Bennett, the boy for maltreating whom Gill was "displaced." All that is known concerning the former is that in addition to the Pauline Exhibition which he held, he received grants for the purchase of books on two occasions, amounting in all to

£11 13s. 4d., a sum larger than the value of his annual payment as exhibitor.

Young Gill characteristically vented his spleen against Ben Jonson in 1632, having for nine years nursed a rankling indignation against the poet, who, as we have seen, had satirized his father. *The Magnetick Lady*, which Jonson produced in that year, was a great failure, and in anticipation of its being printed Gill wrote an abusive, but interesting, lampoon, which he headed¹—

“PARTURIUNT MONTES, NASCETUR, ETC.

“Is this your loadestone, Ben, that must attract
Applause and laughter att each scaene and acte?
Is this the childe of your bed-ridden witt,
And none but the Blackefriers foster ytt?

And yett thou crazye art and confidante,
Belchinge out full-mouth'd oathes with foule intent,
Calling vs fools and rogues, vnlettered men,
Poore narrow soules that cannott judge of Ben!”

The last lines of this squib—

“Fall then to worke in thy old age agen,
Take upp your trugg and trowell, gentle Ben!”

refer to the allegation that Ben Jonson started life as a bricklayer.

Zouch Townley, a devoted admirer of Jonson who imitated his versification with some skill, took up the cudgels on behalf of the dramatist in lines beginning—

“It cannott moue thy frind, firme Ben, that hee
Whome the starr-chamber censur'd, rayles at thee.
I gratulate the metheod of thy fate
That joynd the(e) next, in malice, to the state;
Thus Nero, after parricidall guilt
Brookes noe delayes till Lucan's blood be spilte
Nor could his mischife finde a second crime
Vnles hee slew the poett of the tyme.”

The force of Townley's righteous indignation, however,

¹ Wood, *Ath. Ox.*, ii. 598, iii. 42.

was greatly diminished by the fact that having himself written a panegyric of Felton, he had prudently fled to Holland, and so escaped having it made "a star-chamber matter." Either because he recognized the weakness of his apologist's position, or because he preferred to settle his own quarrels, Ben retaliated on Gill in lines a fragment of which is extant, and forms a fitting conclusion to the controversy which had been carried on with so much regard for the amenities—

"Shall the prosperity of a pardon still
 Secure thy railing rhymes, infamous Gill,
 At libelling? Shall no Star-Chamber peers,
 Pillory, nor whip, nor want of ears
 All of which thou hast incurred deservedly,
 No degradation from the ministry
 To be the Denis of thy father's school
 Keep in thy bawling wit, thou bawling fool!
 Thinking to stir me thou hast lost thy end.
 I'll laugh at thee, poor wretched tyke, Go send
 Thy blatant muse abroad and teach it rather
 A tune to drown the ballads of thy father;
 For thou hast nought in thee to cure his fame
 But time and noise, the echo of his shame,
 A rogue by statute, censured to be whip't,
 Cropt, branded, slit, neck stocked, Go you are stript."

CHAPTER XII

PURITAN INFLUENCES AT ST. PAUL'S

JOHN LANGLEY, HIGH MASTER 1640-1657

ALEXANDER GILL was "displaced," as the school records express it, at the beginning of the year 1639-40. On January 7 in that year the Court of the Mercers was summoned to elect his successor. The candidates for the vacancy were three in number, Langley, Lloyd and Minors. Four examiners, called in the accounts "Opposers," were appointed to try them. These triers were Dr. Bromrick, Mr. Calamy, Mr. Launce and Mr. Barnaby, each of whom received a fee of forty shillings for his pains. The best known of these Opposers was Edmund Calamy, who had in the preceding year become incumbent of St. Mary, Aldermanbury, on his resignation of a lectureship at Bury, where he was known as a Calvinist, owing to the insistence by the Bishop on the observance of Church ceremonies, while three years later he attended the Westminster Assembly as a Presbyterian, and was spoken of as a probable Provost of Eton before 1660. These facts, and the religious views of Langley, the selected candidate, who was well known as a Puritan, show very clearly the political complexion of the Mercers' Company at the beginning of the year in which the Long Parliament was destined to meet, and which they were in a position to make the prevailing tone at St. Paul's. The disappointed candidates were con-

soled with a gift of £4 apiece, a precedent established on this occasion, which the Mercers do not appear to have followed at subsequent elections.

The fact that Gill received a few votes at this election shows that there was a section of the Mercers' Company anxious to reinstate him, and the circumstance that he is expressed to have received "some" votes, while they obviously were a minority of the total votes cast in the contest, show that the Mercers did not delegate their elective functions to the four men from outside their own body whom they had consulted, but that they merely called in expert scholars to assist them in their choice, just as sixty years before, when Harrison was elected, they secured the advice of Dean Nowell and other learned men "for the trial of the sufficiency of the candidates."

John Langley was born near Banbury, in the neighbourhood of Oxford. It is from the statutes of Banbury Grammar School that Colet is traditionally supposed to have drawn the inspiration of his more famous code, and it would be interesting to prove conclusively that Langley just a century later was educated at that school, but the most that can be said in view of the absence of any evidence whatever as to his place of education is that it is not remotely improbable that he was educated at the school nearest to the place of his birth. The first information we have concerning him is that he signed the Articles, and performed the other formalities for admission at Oxford in 1613, so that we may assume that he was born some time in the last decade of the sixteenth century, probably in 1595 or 1596.

He graduated from Magdalen Hall in 1616, and proceeded to his M.A. degree three years later. In March 1617-18, he was appointed, at what must have been an exceptionally early age, to the head mastership of Gloucester Grammar School, a post which, according to a Chapter

minute recorded years later in Gloucester Cathedral, "he had dyvers yeares before that inioyed with the good approbation of the Dean and Chapter." He resigned the post in September 1627, but was persuaded to resume his duties in the following May, being re-admitted by the sub-dean "into the place of High or Chiefe Schole Master in as ample a manner" as he had formerly held it.

He was made to resign in 1635 owing to the fact that he had displayed Puritan leanings on the occasion of Laud's visitation.

In the absence of any statement to the contrary, we may presume that he maintained his prebendal stall and continued to busy himself with clerical work in Gloucester, for in September 1639, the usher of the Cathedral Crypt School having gone out of his mind, and the master having proved a failure, Langley was appointed usher and assistant, to teach the Greek tongue at a salary of 40 marks (£26 13s. 4d.) a year. The terms of his appointment run as follows¹—

"Whereas the Greek tongue and other learning are at this day taught in many free schools for the better instructing and fitting youth for the Universities, whereof Mr John Langley hath given good testimony in teaching and instructing many of the burgesses sonnes of this cittye and others, and enabling them for the Universitye, it was thereupon ordered that Mr John Langley shalbe an assistant to the said Mr Bird to teach the Greeke tongue and also shalbe usher in place of Mr Robert Bird, usher."

In January 1639-40, the Corporation having found Mr. Bird "very negligent, careless, and remiss," reduced his salary from 40 to 20 marks, and it was ordered that "care be taken for the speedy removinge of the said Mr Bird." Bird appealed to Laud, who sent down a letter under the Privy Seal to prohibit the Corporation from removing

¹ Glo'ster Chapter Act Bk., Sept. 1639.

the head master, or from their "attempt to bring in one Langley, a man sectionously sett agaynst the government of the Church of England, insomuch that at the late Metropolitan visitation of the Most Reverend Father in God, the Lord Archbishop of Canterbury hee, publiquely in courte before the Vicar Generall, obstinately refused to conform himself to those thinges which were required of him accordinge to lawe and forthwith deserted the Schools in Gloucester belonginge to the Deane and Chapter."

It has been suggested that this interference by Laud with the chartered rights of the Corporation to manage its own school contributed to the stalwart resistance of Gloucester to the Royal forces, which had no small effect on the result of the Civil War. As far as Langley was concerned, however, Laud's injunctions fell flat, for whereas the letter was written by the Archbishop in April 1640, the offending school-master had by that time been for three months safely installed in the high mastership of St. Paul's.

On his appointment he devoted himself to his school work, and four years after he had come to the school he published *Totius Rhetoricae adumbratio, in usum Paulinae Scholae*, 1644, a second edition of which was called for and was published in Cambridge in 1650, while an *Introduction to Grammar*, which he wrote, was several times printed.

Indications of an innovation on his part are to be seen in an entry in the accounts for the year 1646, where there is a charge which in the light of the value of money in those days seems excessive, of twelve shillings for eight pairs of gloves for the scholars who made orations, while in the following year double that number were supplied. In the year 1645-6 we read in the same source that "During some part of this year the Schollers were taught in the Convocation House in Paules," an entry from which one may infer that the school buildings were under repair, and were

being subjected, it may be safely assumed, to the last alteration which the original buildings of the founder were to undergo before they perished in the Great Fire a little more than twenty years later.

The receipts from the Campden Exhibition Fund were almost entirely suspended during Langley's high mastership, a reason being no doubt to be found in the difficulty of collecting tithe during the Civil War in so distant a county as Northumberland.

The annual grant of money for prizes, which had begun, as we have seen, in Mulcaster's time, and which had remained fixed at twenty shillings a year since 1602, was discontinued in the first year of Langley's high mastership, but a far more serious step, due no doubt to the Civil War, was the discontinuance of all the exhibitions by which boys were enabled to go to the Universities. Those charged on the Coletine estate were suspended for the three years 1644-1646, but the Campden Exhibitions were not awarded from the date of the younger Gill's dismissal until 1654, three years before Langley was succeeded by Cromleholme. Although five exhibitions on Lord Campden's foundation were awarded in the year 1654, no more awards of these exhibitions were made until 1659, two years after Cromleholme's election to the high mastership.

Not merely were no new Pauline exhibitioners elected from 1643 to 1646, but holders of exhibitions elected in years preceding 1643 failed to receive their annual grants from the school estates. According to the Acts of Court of the Mercers, on February 7, 1643, the Court of Assistants postponed the question of exhibitions until a day "when it shall please God the time be more settled." Few payments were made in 1644, none in 1645, and in 1646 again only a few were paid, but in this year four of Gill's pupils who had been elected to exhibitions in 1639 or 1640 received

"gratuities" of £6 13s. 4d. in place of the full payment of £10.

No less than sixteen of Langley's pupils are known to have petitioned for exhibitions in the twelve years from 1642 to 1654, and to have been refused owing to lack of funds; a few of these received "grants" or "gratuities" which differed from the exhibitions in that they were single payments, which did not pledge the Mercers' Company to the same extent as would a promise to pay a regular and fixed annuity.

It is a curious fact that in spite of the circumstances which have been dealt with, by which during the years of the Civil War, from 1644 to 1646, no appointments were made to exhibitions, the total number of boys who received exhibitions during the seventeen years of Langley's high mastership shows a marked increase on the numbers elected under his predecessors. In addition to five Campden exhibitors, no less than forty-six boys were assisted at the Universities out of the Coletine foundation, so that if one omits in the reckoning the two years in which the Mercers' Company was forced to recoup itself for the exactions of Parliament, an average of between three and four exhibitors was sent up every year from St. Paul's to the Universities.

The total entry at Cambridge in 1643 was only forty-five and at Oxford fifty-one, but three years later the Oxford matriculations had dropped to two. In all, more than eighty of Langley's pupils are known to have gone to Oxford and Cambridge. Only a quarter of these, as might be expected in the case of the pupils of a Puritan schoolmaster, went to Oxford. Twelve of his pupils are known to have gained fellowships at Cambridge, and eleven others at Oxford, but of these five were M.A.s who had migrated from Cambridge, and were intruded by the Parliamentary visitors.

At least five of Langley's pupils at St. Paul's entered at the Universities as fellow-commoners, or gentlemen commoners; four of these were the sons of baronets, but the fifth appears to have been merely the son of a wealthy citizen.

A fairly complete list of the "poor scholars" under Langley has been preserved. From this it appears that the post was held in most cases for only one year, although one boy held it for four years and one for two years. Ten names in all have been preserved, covering seventeen years. Just one-half proceeded to the Universities, in all cases save one with exhibitions. The parentage of only three out of the ten is known. One was the son of a carrier of London; two were the sons of country parsons, and of these one succeeded in becoming a Fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford.

One form of public recognition which Langley obtained is to be seen in a Parliamentary Order of June 29, 1643, by which, pursuant to the Ordinance of the Long Parliament which inspired Milton's *Areopagitica*, and which had been passed in that year, his scholastic attainments procured for him the appointment as one of the licensers or censors of the press for "books of philosophy, history, poetry, morality, and arts;" but it appears from a petition presented on December 20, 1648, by the printers and stationers of London, that he was so much engrossed in his work as high master that he had become remiss in the duties of censorship.¹

His Puritan proclivities are to be seen in the fact that he was sworn on January 12, 1644,² and on June 6 following appeared as witness before the Lords' Committee which had been appointed to take examinations in the cause of

¹ Historical MS. Commission, 7th Report, p. 67.

² Cal. of State Papers, Dom. Series, 1664, p. 4.



T. Hill pinx. 1723.]

[*G. White sc.*

GEORGE HOOPER, BISHOP OF ST. ASAPH AND OF BATH AND WELLS

[*To face p. 204.*

Archbishop Laud, and before that body he deposed to sundry innovations introduced by Laud in the conduct of the cathedral services when he had been Dean of Gloucester and Langley had been master of the school and prebendary of the cathedral.

Samuel Knight, who entered at St. Paul's only thirty years after Langley's death, and whose words may therefore not unreasonably be said to embody a tradition which was still alive in the school, says that "he had a very awful presence and speech that struck a mighty respect and fear into his scholars, which however wore off after they were a little used to him ; and the management of himself towards them was such that they both loved and feared him." One incident in his career which has been preserved affords a tribute to the rigid sense of duty which inspired the high master, for, having been seized with an illness some time before he fell ill of the disease which proved fatal, "he was so fearful of any miscarriage in the duties of his place that he expressed a wish," so we are told, "to be buried at the school door in regard that he had in his ministrations there, come short of the duties which he owed the school."

That he underestimated his labours and the satisfactory way in which he filled his post may be inferred from the fact that Thomas Fuller, who sent his son John to be educated at St. Paul's under him, speaks of Langley in terms of the highest praise ; while Edmund Calamy, who, as we have seen, had some share in his election, vouched for his confidence in the high master by sending his son Edmund to school under him. Other distinguished men whom the fame of the high master induced to send their sons to St. Paul's include Sir John Trevor, Secretary of State ; Sir Robert Harley, M.P., the brother of the Earl of Oxford ; Edward Reynolds, Dean of Christ Church ; Anthony Tuckney, Master of Emanuel ; Henry Croke,

Canon of Lincoln and Gresham Professor of Rhetoric ; Sir John Pettus Governor of the Royal Mines ; Peter Pett, the Master Shipbuilder to the King and Naval Commander at Chatham ; and four baronets of more or less distinction. The fact that he was a distinguished antiquary no doubt accounts for the fact that Langley was known and beloved by Selden amongst other learned men, but one may well believe the statement of Anthony à Wood, "he had not much esteem for the orthodox clergy."

The greatest tribute, however, that was ever paid to Langley is to be found in the fact that the Mercers adopted his recommendation on his deathbed of Cromleholme, a former surmaster, as being the best possible successor that could be found to fill his place at St. Paul's.

He died unmarried on September 13, 1657. Richard Smyth, in his Obituary, notes "Mr. Langley, the amiable school-master of Pauls, died." All the scholars attended his funeral, wearing white gloves, and walking before the corpse (hung with verses instead of escutcheons) from the school through Cheapside, to the Mercers' Chapel. John Strype himself records that as a boy at St. Paul's he walked in this funeral procession.

Here Edward Reynolds, who has been already referred to as the father of one of Langley's pupils, pronounced a warm eulogy of the late high master's learning and character in a sermon, subsequently printed, "On the Uses of Human Learning," which in the pedantic style of the day he dedicated on publication to Sir Henry Yelverton, a former pupil at St. Paul's of John Langley, "to whose care your father trusted the two props of his family, yourself and your most hopeful brother, whom God took from that school to a celestial academy." With regard to the sermon itself, even when one discounts the panegyrics of such effusions, it will be recognized that Langley must have been a man of

some note in his day for it to have been possible to say of him that “he was an excellent linguist, grammarian, historian, cosmographer and artist, as also a most judicious divine and a great antiquary. Pausanias was not more learned in the description of Greece than he of England, while of him it was said also ‘doctum in hoc uno crederes quodcumque diceret.’”

Thomas Fuller, who sent his son to be educated by Langley, speaks in his *Church History* of “Paul’s School flourishing at this day as much as ever, under the care of Mr. John Langly, the able and religious Schoolmaster thereof.” The fact that Langley was a distinguished antiquary, as well as an excellent theologian of the Puritan stamp, must have caused him to appeal with especial force to the author of the *Worthies of England*.

The translation of Polydore Vergil’s *De Inventoribus rerum*, published in 1663, which bears on the title-page John Langley’s name, is in fact nothing more than a reprint of the work of Thomas Langley, canon of Winchester, which was made in 1546, and which was, no doubt, the work of a relation of the high master.¹

John Langley was the first high master to exercise a responsibility placed upon him and his successors in 1656. In that year Abraham Colfe, Vicar of Lewisham, bequeathed part of his property to the Leathersellers’ Company, in trust for the foundation of Blackheath Grammar School, and the testator provided that the master of the school should be examined by the head masters of St. Paul’s, Westminster, and Merchant Taylors’ Schools.

Langley’s colleagues in the first election were Richard Busby of Westminster, and William Dugard of Merchant Taylors’.

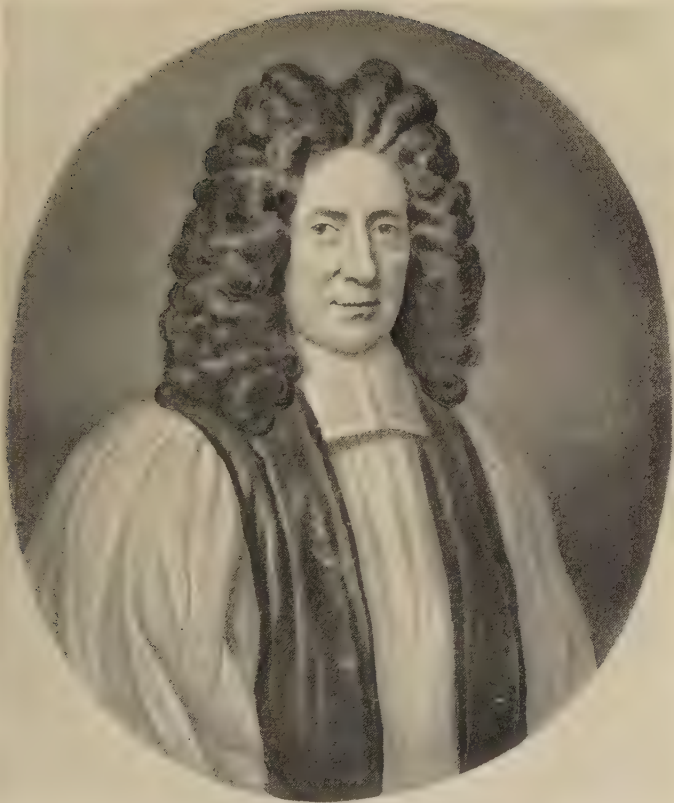
That Langley, like Gill, taught Hebrew at St. Paul’s, is

¹ Lords’ Journl., vi. 377 ; Com. Journl., iii. 138.

shown by the fact that one of his pupils, John Janeway, whose career as a zealous Presbyterian divine was cut short at a very early age, on leaving St. Paul's, where he made considerable proficiency in Greek and Latin, passed a satisfactory examination in Hebrew for the foundation at Eton, "which was thought beyond precedent."

Two of Langley's pupils were raised to the episcopal bench. George Hooper, the son of a Worcestershire gentleman, was at school at Westminster as well as at St. Paul's, and Busby, of whom he was a favourite, said of him, "This boy is the least favoured in feature of any in the school, but he will become more extraordinary than any of them." His appearance later in life may be seen in the engraving of his portrait in the great hall at St. Paul's, a print which is of interest as being the first in which a mixture of line engraving and mezzotint was employed. After holding a studentship at Christ Church, Hooper refused the Regius Professorship of Divinity, became in turn Dean of Canterbury, Bishop of St. Asaph, and Bishop of Bath and Wells. He remained in that see till his death in 1727. He was described by Pepys, who was a connoisseur in such matters, as one of the best pulpit men in the nation, and he fully deserved Busby's statement, "He was the best scholar, the finest gentleman, and will make the completest bishop that ever I educated."

Richard Cumberland, the other bishop educated by Langley, was at Magdalene, Cambridge, of which he became a fellow, with Samuel Pepys, who some years later, when he visited London, records that he "had a great deal of his good company, and a most excellent person he is, as any I know." Pepys was most anxious that his old friend, "in his plain country parson's dress," should marry his sister, "he having in discourse said he was not against marrying, nor yet engaged." Nine months later Pepys



J. Murray pinx. 1706.]

[J. Smith sc.]

RICHARD CUMBERLAND, BISHOP OF PETERBOROUGH

[To face p. 208.]

expresses the hope that he will have "as relation, so able and honest, and so old an acquaintance as Mr. Cumberland," and when in fact his sister fell in love with a man who is damned with faint praise as "a plain young man, handsome enough for her, one of no education nor discourse, but of few words, and one altogether that I think will please me well enough," the whole topic is summed up by the diarist in the words, "I shall, I see, have no pleasure nor content in him, as if he had been a man of reading and parts like Cumberland."

His friend's judgment of Cumberland's ability was not exaggerated. In 1691 he became Bishop of Peterborough, where he remained till his death at the age of eighty-six, in 1718. A pleasant tribute, in the light of the quotations which have been made, is to be found in the fact that he dedicated his *Essay towards the Recovery of Jewish Weights and Measures to Samuel Pepys*.

Although there are constant references in the *Diary* of Samuel Pepys to St. Paul's and to his school-fellows, there is nothing to show for how many years he was in the school.

Pepys, who was born in 1632, was recommended for a Robinson Exhibition of the Mercers' Company in 1650, an incident to which he refers in his *Diary* many years later—

"To Mercers' Hall, where we met with the King's Council for trade. It pleased me much now to come in this condition to this place, where I was once a petitioner for my exhibition in St. Paul's School."

Nothing is known concerning John Pepys, his father, a tailor of London. His cousin, and patron, Sir Edward Montagu, afterwards Earl of Sandwich, was a follower of Cromwell who veered round to the Royalist side, and in this connection it is of interest to quote an entry in the

Diary written in the year of Charles' Restoration, at a time when the diarist was well started on his successful career as a loyal servant of the Crown. He relates how at dinner at Sir William Batten's he met "Mr. Christmas, my old schoolfellow, with whom I had much talk. He did remember that I was a great Roundhead when I was a boy, and I was much afraid that he would have remembered the words that I said, the day the King was beheaded (that were I to preach upon him, my text should be—'The memory of the wicked shall rot'); but I found afterwards that he did go away from school before that time."

Pepys' fame as a diarist has unduly overshadowed his very high reputation as a Government official. Soon after the Restoration he became Clerk of the Acts of the Navy, and Clerk of the Privy Seal. In the following year he became a Younger Brother of Trinity House, and a member of the Tangier Commission, of which he became Treasurer three years later. His success at the Navy Office caused Monck to speak of him, in 1665, as "the right hand of the Navy." He defended himself and his colleagues on the Navy Board at the Bar of the House of Commons with so much skill in 1668, when popular feeling was aroused by the success of the Dutch in the Medway, that the Solicitor-General declared that he was the best speaker in England. Mr. George Montagu on the same occasion kissed him, and called him Cicero, while Sir William Coventry said that he ought to be Speaker of the House of Commons. His success led him to enter Parliament, where he represented Castle Rising, and afterwards Harwich, until the year 1688.

When the Duke of York resigned his offices in 1673, owing to the passing of the Test Act, the Admiralty was put in commission, and Pepys was made Secretary for the

affairs of the Navy, and is said in a contemporary account to have been the most useful minister who ever filled his position in England.

Sir Godfrey Kneller was engaged in painting the portrait of James II as a present from the King to his faithful servant, when the news of landing of William of Orange was brought. Pepys retired into private life after the Revolution, and survived till 1703.

In addition to his official position, Pepys was a member of Gresham College, and in 1664 was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which he became President in 1684. He was on terms of intimacy with the leading men of science, and virtuosi of his day. His *Diary*, which extends from 1660 to 1669, when it ceased owing to failing eyesight, is too well known to require more than mere mention in this place, apart from the light which it throws upon St. Paul's School during the early years of the reign of Charles II.

Robert Louis Stevenson, in his *Essays on Men and Books*, wrote a psychological study of Pepys as disclosed in the *Diary*. A distinguished physician a few years ago delivered a lecture on the medical history of Mr. and Mrs. Pepys, gleaned from the same source. Sir Frederic Bridge has written a brochure on Pepys as a musician ; and there is ample material in the *Diary* for a long article on Pepys as an Old Pauline.

Some account of his relations with Cromleholme, the high master who succeeded Langley, will be found in the next chapter, but it may be noted here that one of the first entries in the *Diary*, dated February 5, 1659-60, records how he went "To my father's, where I wrote some notes for my brother John to give to the Mercers, it being the day of their Apposition."

Four days later he states, "I rose early this morning

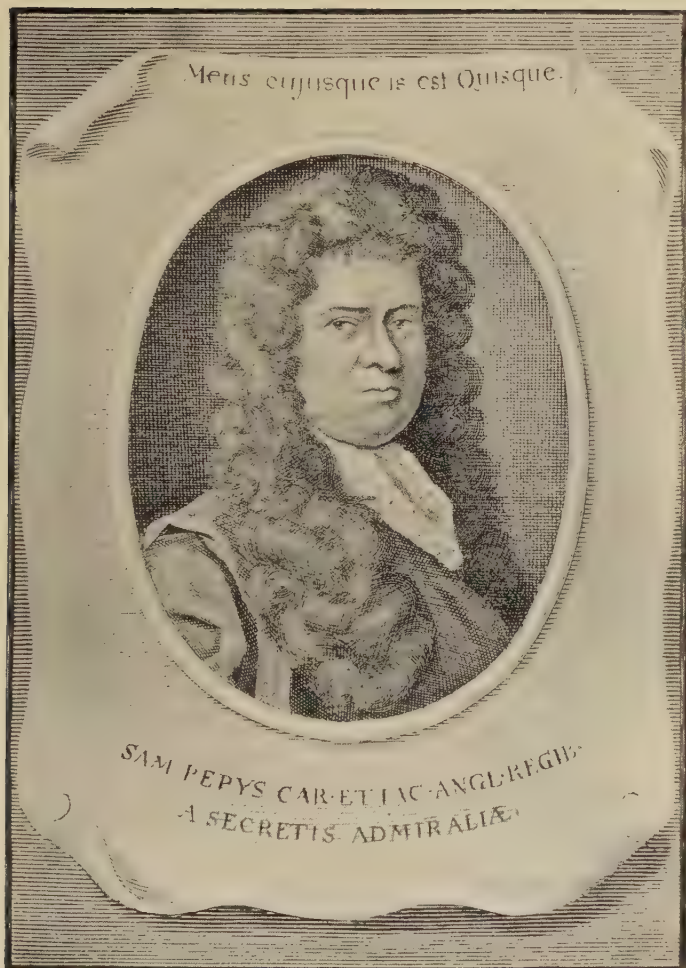
and looked over my brother John's speech which he is to make the next opposition."

A few days after, he and his father visited the high master, who gave them "directions what to do about getting my brother an exhibition, and spoke very well of my brother." A fortnight later he attended the Apposition, and wrote of the "speeches in which my brother, John, came off as well as any of the rest."

His attendance at the Apposition continued after his brother had left St. Paul's, and the spirit of every "old boy," who as regards his school is invariably at heart laudator temporis acti se puero, is enshrined in a reference to a visit in 1661—

"Up early and to Paul's School, it being Apposition day there. I heard some of their speeches, and they were just as schoolboys used to be, of the seven liberal sciences, but I think not so good as our's were in our time."

References to his school-fellows abound in the *Diary*. No less than eleven are mentioned by name. In visits to different churches he often found Old Paulines officiating or preaching; and when this was the case he rarely failed to make a note of the fact. In one case it was "a Mr. Powell, a crooked-legged man that went formerly with me to Paul's School," that preached a good sermon. On another occasion, in the church at Walthamstow, he saw Mr. Radcliffe, "my former schoolfellow at Paul's (who is yet a meere boy). He read all, and his sermon very simple, but I looked for new matter." At St. Lawrence Jewry, "a gentleman sat in the pew I by chance sat in, that sang most excellently, and afterwards I found by his face that he had been a Paul's Scholler, but know not his name." On another occasion he heard "a good sermon of one that I remember was at Paul's with me, his name Maggett." This was Richard Meggott, afterwards Dean of Winchester.



Sir G. Kneller pinx.

[R. White sc.]

SAMUEL PEPYS, F.R.S., SECRETARY FOR THE NAVY

[To face p. 212.]

When an old school-fellow, Jack Cole by name, called on Pepys in 1664, according to the *Diary*, "I made him stay with me till 11 that night, talking of old school stories, and very pleasant ones, and truly I did find that we did spend our time and thoughts then otherwise than I think boys do now, and I think as well as, methinks, the best are now . . . and strange to see how we are all divided that were bred so long at school together, and what various fortunes we have run, some good, some bad."

Once again when Jack Cole called on him, he wrote, "I find him still of the old good-humour that we were of at school together, and I am very glad to see him."

On October 23, 1667, Pepys wrote of the civic elections in his *Diary*, "The other sheriff is Davis, the little fellow, my schoolfellow, the bookseller who was one of Audley's executors, and now become sheriff, which is a strange turn methinks." Thomas Davies, the subject of this entry, was the son of a freeman of the Drapers' Company, and was a well-known bookseller in London, who had been enriched by a legacy from a man of wealth. He was Master of the Stationers' Company in 1668 and 1669, and having been knighted in the year of his shrievalty, was Lord Mayor in 1667, the year in which the Monument was erected, a circumstance which accounts for the fact that the high master of St. Paul's was commissioned to write the inscription.

The opinions expressed by Pepys concerning his school-fellows were not always flattering. Reference is made to Robert Elborough, parson of St. Lawrence Pountney, in connection with a clergyman at whose importunity and impertinence the diarist was annoyed, and whom he describes as "such another as Elborough," while, when after the Apposition in 1662 he dined with his school-fellow, he

declared that he "found him as great a fool as ever he was, or worse."

On another occasion, however, he heard Elborough, whom he described as a simple rogue, preach "a good sermon, and in as right a parsonlike manner, and in good manner too, as I have heard anybody, and the church very full, which is a surprising consideration."

When on a visit to Cambridge Pepys voted for the election as taxor of another school-fellow, Bernard Skelton, who was afterwards Agent in Holland for James II, by whom he was used to inveigle Monmouth over to England.

The name of John Trevor comes next to that of Pepys in the school list. He was the son of Sir John Trevor, a Secretary of State, and was a cousin of George Jeffreys. He went to Merton as a gentleman commoner, and ten years after being called to the Bar was knighted. He was M.P. for Yarmouth, Isle of Wight, and was elected Speaker in 1683, and again in 1690. Having held the post of Attorney-General he became Master of the Rolls in 1685, and retained that post with an interval of but four years until his death in 1717, when he was buried in the Rolls Chapel. The discovery by the House of Commons in 1695 that a large bribe had been paid to secure the renewal of the Charter of the East India Company, a corrupt practice in which Trevor was implicated, resulted in the fact that after putting to the House the question of his own expulsion from the Chair as Speaker, Trevor was compelled to declare that "the Ayes have it."

The boy whose name comes next to that of Trevor in the registers, Henry Yelverton, went up to Oxford, like Trevor, as a gentleman commoner, and, like him, entered Parliament. He succeeded his father in the baronetcy in 1665, and died in 1670.

Another baronet's son educated by Langley was Hugh

Cholmeley, the son of the Governor of Scarborough, who went from St. Paul's to Trinity Hall, and became Governor of Tangier under Charles II. He succeeded to the baronetcy in 1665, and died in 1688.

George Viner, the son of Sir Thomas Viner, Lord Mayor of London in 1654, succeeded his father in the title nine years after leaving St. Paul's.

George Croke, the son of a canon of Lichfield, who was also Gresham Professor of Rhetoric, has been identified as a Pauline from the occurrence of his name among the stewards of the feast in 1677. He was made a Fellow of All Souls in 1648 by the Parliamentary visitors, but was knighted at the Restoration. In 1664 he became High Sheriff of Oxfordshire, and in 1676 he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society.

Among the pupils of Langley who distinguished themselves by their adherence to the Puritan cause, Richard Bures must be mentioned as a man who, after matriculating at Oxford as a Pauline Exhibitioner, was made a Fellow of Christ Church by the Parliamentary visitors, but was ejected from this as well as from his living in Kent by the Bartholomew Act in 1662, and suffered imprisonment for his opinions in 1677.¹

An Old Pauline at Emmanuel, Nathaniel Sterry by name, who had been refused an exhibition for want of funds in 1644, was intruded into a fellowship at Merton five years later, but, being more complaisant than Bures, died Dean of Bocking. His brother, Peter Sterry, was chaplain to Oliver Cromwell. He was an intimate friend of Sir Henry Vane, and Richard Baxter punningly asked concerning them, "whether vanity and sterility had ever been more happily conjoined." The place of his education is not known. It is most probable that he, too, was educated by Langley.

¹ Burrows, 173-4; Calamy, ii. 337.

Contemporary with Bures and Sterry at school was William Carpenter, who became Whyte Professor of Moral Theology at Oxford; while Benjamin Pulleyn, who petitioned for an exhibition in 1649, and in 1652 received a grant of £10, became Fellow of Trinity, and from 1674 to 1686 was Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge.

Among the pupils of Langley, in addition to Bures and Sterry, who received fellowships by the favour of the Parliamentary visitors in 1648, Peter Pett and Edward Reynolds are to be found. The former was the son of the Master Shipbuilder to the King. He held a fellowship of All Soul's, was an original Fellow of the Royal Society, became Advocate-General for Ireland and sat in the House of Commons, and was knighted by the Duke of Ormond during his Lord Lieutenancy. Reynolds, who was the son of the Bishop of Norwich, was made Fellow of Magdalen, and became Archdeacon in his father's diocese.

Among the sons of eminent Puritans whom the reputation of Langley attracted to St. Paul's, we must mention Jonathan Tuckney, the son of the Master of Emmanuel, who later became Master of St. John's College. Of his son it is on record that "when a schoolboy he was accounted a prodigy for the pregnancy of his natural parts and his proficiency in school learning," but his later career did not fulfill the promise of his school-days.

Edmund Calamy, the son of a well-known Nonconformist, went up to Cambridge from St. Paul's in 1652 as a pensioner of Sidney Sussex, the atmosphere of which must have been congenial to his views. He became a Fellow of Pembroke, and although, like his father, he welcomed the Restoration, he was ejected from the foundation, owing to his Nonconformist views.

Humphrey Gower is the only head of a House at Oxford or Cambridge who is known to have been at school



J. Fellowes pinx.

[G. Vertue sc.]

HUMPHREY GOWER, MASTER OF ST. JOHN'S COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,
 LADY MARGARET PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY

[To face p. 216.]

under Langley. He appears to have been at St. Paul's from 1647 to 1651, but to have accompanied the surmaster, Samuel Cromleholme, to Dorchester on the appointment of the latter to the head mastership of the grammar school in that town. Gower, who was the son of a Herefordshire clergyman, went up to St. John's College, Cambridge, of which he became a Fellow. He was elected Master of Jesus in 1679, but a few months later returned as master to his old college. He was also elected to the Lady Margaret Professorship of Divinity. Two of the Fellows of St. John's being non-jurors, Gower refused to eject them on the issue of a peremptory mandamus against him in 1693. On being indicted at the Cambridge Assizes for his refusal to obey, the grand jury threw out the bill. He was a benefactor to St. John's College, and to St. Paul's and Dorchester Schools.

Richard Meggott, who went up to Cambridge a few years before Gower, became Chaplain in Ordinary to the King, Canon of Windsor, and Dean of Winchester. He was a very celebrated preacher, and on one occasion Evelyn heard him deliver "an incomparable sermon."

Samuel Woodford, who was a Prebendary of Winchester while Meggott was Dean, became a well-known poet and divine. He was elected F.R.S. in 1664, and his paraphrase of the Psalms, written three years later, received high commendation from Richard Baxter.

Gabriel Towerson, who was elected to a fellowship at All Souls', in the year of the Restoration, became Rector of St. Andrew Undershaft, and was a well-known divine.

The publication of the registers of Caius College, Cambridge, a few years ago, added seven names to the list of Langley's pupils, of whom the most interesting is that of Joseph Alston, who, after three years at St. Paul's, entered Caius as a fellow commoner, and subsequently gained a

scholarship. He succeeded his father as second baronet and inherited from him Bradwell Abbey, Buckinghamshire, of which county he was sheriff in 1670. Of the six other pupils of Langley who graduated at Caius, four became scholars.

An eccentric pupil of this high master, who earned some fame by a controversy on the subject of witchcraft with Meric Casaubon, was John Wagstaffe, whom Anthony à Wood describes as "a little crooked man of despicable appearance, who injured his health by continued bibbing of strong and high-tasted liquors, and died in a manner distracted." The fact that he looked like a little wizard caused his defence of witchcraft to create some amusement in Oxford. He was buried in the Guildhall chapel.

The earliest edition of the school *Preces* which is known to be extant was published during the high mastership of John Langley. J. W. Hewett, who compiled a collection of Latin prayers called *Sacra Academica* in 1865, described an edition of 1655 in the library of Trinity College, Cambridge, which, however, can unfortunately no longer be found. In 1890 an edition of 1644 came into the market, and was purchased for the school library by Dr. Lupton, who issued a reprint of the 12mo volume, which bears stamped on its dark leather binding the letters S. W., which may well be the initials of Samuel Woodford, afterwards Prebendary of Winchester and Fellow of the Royal Society, who was a contemporary at St. Paul's with Samuel Pepys. The features of this edition, printed in the memorable year in which Prince Rupert was defeated at Marston Moor, and Archbishop Laud was attainted, are not without interest.

The prayer for Parliament contains a clause "qui Principis delectu . . . rempublicam administrant," from which, in the edition of 1655, it is significant to notice that the word

"Principis" is omitted. The prayer headed "Gratiarum actio pro scholae Paulinae Fundatore," which follows that for Parliament, does not contain the petition present in that of 1705, which we may suppose was suggested by the Great Fire, "ut eam a Calamitate omni tuearis." Finally, it is worth noting that the last prayer of all, headed "Si Quando Ibitur Lusum, vel citius intermittentur studia," contains a hint of obstreperous doings at play-time in the old churchyard, in the words which were later dropped out, "ne quicquam admittamus . . . quo vicini, spectatoresque nos insolentiae accusent."

St. Paul's enjoys the unique distinction of being the only public school in which the ancient Latin prayers are still in daily use. The school prayers printed by Mr. Hewett forty-four years ago were all described as "formerly in use," except those of St. Paul's, Westminster, Merchant Taylors', Tonbridge, and Blundell's School, Tiverton.

At the last-named school the form, a very short one, was used only on Saturdays, while at Tonbridge it was used only at the annual visitation in July. More than twenty-five years ago, Merchant Taylors' discontinued its former practice of using Latin prayers.

The daily use of Latin at Westminster, it is true, does survive, but in a remarkably brief form, and is the same at the beginning and end of every school-time. It consists merely of a short collect of about four lines in addition to the Pater Noster, supplemented on half-holidays by another, which is almost equally short, in commemoration of benefactors.

There can be no doubt that St. Paul's, during the political and religious struggle of the seventeenth century, reflected more faithfully than any of the other public schools in London, the character of the city as a stronghold of the Puritan cause. Sixty-nine former King's scholars of

Westminster were expelled from canonries, fellowships and livings by the Parliamentary party, but only seven were ejected at the Restoration for their refusal to conform to the Church of England. More than thirty old Merchant Taylors are known to have suffered for conscience sake at the hands of the Puritans, but only three are known to have been persecuted for nonconformity in the reign of Charles II.

The records of the names of Old Paulines at this date are very much more scanty than are those of the pupils of these other schools, but in view of the fact that twelve Old Paulines are known to have suffered from the decrees of the Parliament, and seven from the provisions of the Act of Uniformity of 1662, the inference may quite reasonably be drawn that St. Paul's, although containing a large number, possibly even a majority of Cavaliers among its alumni, contained a larger proportion of Roundheads among them than did either of the other leading schools of London.

CHAPTER XIII

THE FIRE OF LONDON

SAMUEL CROMLEHOLME, HIGH MASTER 1657-1672

WE have seen how the death-bed recommendation of his successor by John Langley was carried into effect by the Mercers' Company. Samuel Cromleholme, who was the late high master's choice, was born in 1618, the son of the Rev. R. Cromleholme, Rector of Quedgeley, in Gloucestershire, and it is probable that he was a pupil of Langley at Gloucester School. After graduating at Corpus Christi College, Oxford, he was, on taking his M.A., appointed master of the Mercers' Chapel School, and in 1647 became surmaster of St. Paul's. From the minute books of the Corporation of Dorchester it appears that Mr. Reeve, who had long been master of the grammar school, had fallen into disfavour with the Corporation, and on June 21, 1649, the Corporation applied to Langley, high master of St. Paul's, to supply them with a competent "husher" to assist their master, and it was subsequently resolved that Mr. Gower, who was probably Dr. Stanley Gower, the father of Langley's pupil, Humphrey Gower, should let Langley know that "the husher whom he had provided should have XX lib a year," besides the presents which he should have from the scholars, "and withal that Mr. Langley be informed of the low condition of the school, and how few boys there be, and that it be commended to

Mr. Reeve his consideration, whether he should not relinquish his place." Cromleholme became head master of Dorchester School on October 19, 1651, and in about six years returned to St. Paul's as high master.

"Cromleholme," says Knight, "understood a great many languages and exceeded his predecessor in that part of learning," and this tribute is borne out by the fact that the adjective *πολύγλωττος* was applied to him by his contemporaries.

Samuel Pepys had some acquaintance with Cromleholme, and it is of interest to trace the development of the views of the Old Pauline diarist with regard to the high master of his old school. The first entry concerning Cromleholme occurs in December 1661, and is as follows—

"I took coach and lighting at my booksellers I met with Mr. Crumlum and the second Master of Paul's School, and thence I took them to the Star, and there we sat and talked, and I got great pleasure in their company, and very glad I was of meeting him so accidentally, I having too long omitted to go to see him. There in discourse of books I did offer to give the school what books he would choose of £5. So we parted, and I home."

Pepys kept his promise, and three days later gave £4 10s. for a Stephen's *Thesaurus*, which he presented to the school, and which is still in the library.

In the following year he was shown by a friend some ancient medals, "the greatest rarity," he declared, "that ever I saw in my life, and I will show Mr. Crumlum them," but his high opinion of the school-master was destined to receive a shock of a nature which is surprising, in view of what we know of Pepys' convivial habits. In September 1662 he records how, "After dinner Mr. Moore and I about three o'clock to Paul's school to wait upon Mr. Crumlum (Mr. Moore having a hopeful lad, a kinsman of

his, there at school) who we take very luckily and went up to his chamber with him, where there was also an old fellow-student of Mr. Crumlum's, one Mr. Newell come to see him, of whom he made so much, and of me, that the truth is, he with kindness did drink more than I believe he used to do, and did begin to be a little impertinent the more when, after all he would in the evening go forth with us, and give us a bottle of wine abroad, and at the tavern met with an acquaintance of his that did occasion impertinent discourse, that though I honour the man, and he did declare abundance of learning and worth, yet I confess my opinion is much lessened of him and therefore let it be a caution to myself not to love drink since it has such an effect upon others of greater worth in my esteem."

There is something strange in this sententious moralizing on the part of the man who, although never *fanfaron de ses vices*, confesses on more than one occasion to having indulged to excess at his merry parties at the Spring Garden and even at Whitehall, but there is no doubt as to the sincerity of the scandal which Cromleholme had caused him, as may be seen by the moral which the diarist drew, and as may be inferred from the entry with which he ended the record of the day from which quotation has been made, "and so Mr. Moore and I to bed, and neither of us well pleased with our afternoon's work, merely from our being witnesses of Mr. Crumlum's weakness."

The loss of esteem which resulted from the discovery that the school-master had feet of clay may well be traced in an entry eighteen months later, when Pepys visited Crumlum at his house, "and Lord! to see how ridiculous a conceited pedagogue he is, though a learned man, he being so dogmaticall in all he do and says!" They came, however, "to the old discourse of Paul's," and Crumlum made his peace by giving the other an old copy of Lily's Grammar, "In

usum, antiquae et celebris scholae," which Pepys had admired at a previous Apposition, and by which he declared he would set much store. The volume is preserved in his library at Magdalene.

We read in the Mercers' records that in 1665 "no Apposition was holden by reason of the great visitation of the plague," and on Midsummer Day in the same year the school was dismissed, to be reopened when it seemed good to the surveyor-accountant. We know nothing concerning the effects of the plague on the school in the years preceding 1665, during which, although not so widespread as in the latter year, it was very prevalent in London and the home counties. It is, however, possible that the boys of St. Paul's, like those at Eton, in 1662, were compelled to smoke tobacco in school daily as a preventive measure and whipped if they refused so to do.

The last mention which is made of the high master in Pepys' *Diary* has a pathetic interest. It is in a reference to the Great Fire, an event to which a polite preacher of the day alluded as having reduced the city from a large folio to a decimo tertio, an elegant periphrasis which, although it may have appealed to the wits and gallants of the day, can have afforded little consolation to Cromleholme, who, according to Pepys, "had all his books and household stuff burnt." The high master, indeed, whom Knight describes as "very curious in books," lost in the Fire a valuable library which was reputed the best private collection of books in London in his day. He is stated to have compiled in 1665 "a schedule of books in the school study." Among the MSS. presented by Richard Rawlinson, himself an Old Pauline, to Bodley is a collection by Bagford, including "an account of the various libraries in and about London for the satisfaction of the curious Natives and farinerds," and among them occurs the following note: "We have seen

(an) outhur fernald (fine old ?) Library withen ye Waylds (Wards ?) of ye Citey as that of St. Poules Scoale founded by Dr. Deane Collet and sence rebuilte by ye Companey of Mercers. Ye founder left to them many good books, which fild ther Library, both MSS. and printed Books, most of them to (?) grammatical learning in Hebrew Greke and Latin, which were destroyed in ye late dreadfull fire (*i.e.* 1666) with those of ye Head Master Mr. Crome-holme (*sic*) a rayer collection of ye Classacks and ye best impressions and editions printed by Aldus, Juntine, Gref-ton, Stephensens, Elzevars, neatly bound, & perhaps at that time of day (it) was of ye best for a privet in or about London. And ye losse of these books I verely beleve shortned his days for he was grate Lover of his Books and spared for no coust for ye procuring them from all parts of Europe. Here then I say have bin furnished with all sorts of Editions, Dicksinaries & Gramers in Hebrew Calde (Chaldee), Greeke, and Latten, for ye use of the Scholars of ye Upper Schoole.”¹

The reference in Pepys² to the catastrophe which caused this deplorable loss is as follows : “ Up by five o’clock : and blessed be God ! find all well, and by water to Paules Wharfe. Walked thence and saw all the towne burned, and a miserable sight of Paul’s Church, with all the roofs fallen, and the body of the quire fallen into St. Faith’s : Paul’s school also, Ludgate and Fleet Street.”

The school having been destroyed, the three masters were allowed to find any employment which they pleased on promising to return when the school re-opened. They were paid in the interval the bare statutory stipends decreed by the founder, as a retaining fee, and the extra payments by which at this time the salary was ordinarily in large measure supplemented, were withheld. Cromleholme opened a school

¹ *Pauline*, vol. xxii., No. 137, p. 5.

² September 7, 1666.

at Wandsworth.¹ The manner in which the other masters occupied their time in the interval which elapsed before the new school was completed is not known. Nathaniel Bull, the surmaster, who had been captain of Westminster and student of Christ Church, was an unsuccessful candidate for the head mastership of Leicester Grammar School in 1667.²

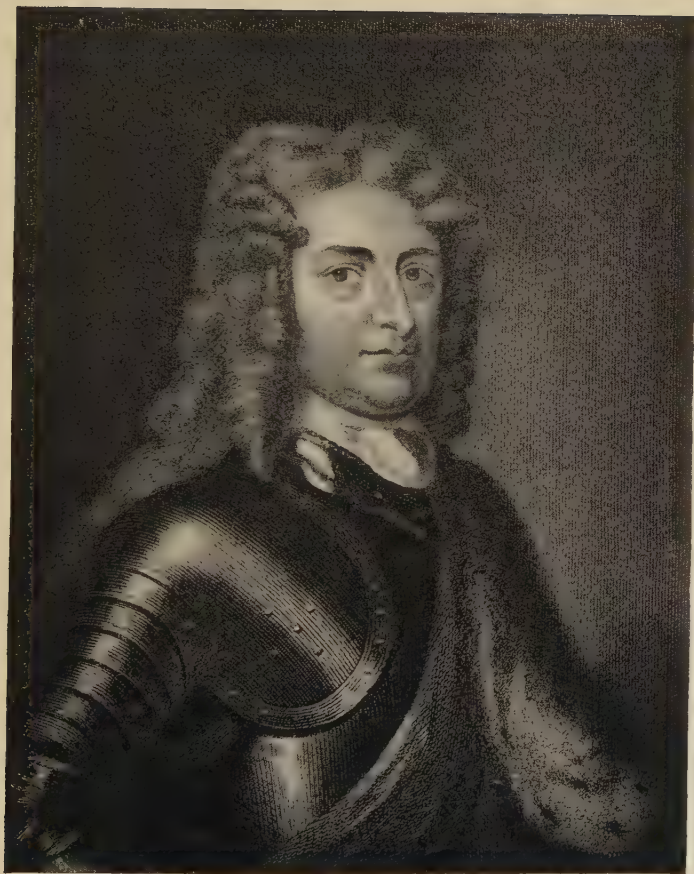
What happened to the boys of St. Paul's during the rebuilding after the fire is not known. Some probably followed Cromleholme to Wandsworth. One of them at least, Samuel Bradford by name, went to the Charterhouse. He cannot have stayed there long from the fact that he was fifteen years of age in 1666, and the circumstance that he sent his son to school at St. Paul's serves to indicate which of the two schools he looked upon with most favour.

Bradford, who was not an exhibitioner, became a Fellow of Bene't College, Cambridge, and rector of St. Mary-le-Bow. His Whig principles having secured for him the post of Chaplain in Ordinary first to William of Orange, and then to Queen Anne, he was in 1716 elected Master of Bene't, with which he held the Bishopric of Carlisle, and later that of Rochester. He became Dean of Westminster in 1723, and on the revival by George I, two years later, of the Order of the Bath, the original foundation of which dates from 1399, Bradford was appointed its first Dean, and for this reason the collar of the Bath surrounds his arms in the window of the school hall.

Another man of note, whose school-days at St. Paul's were cut short by the fire, was Edward Northey, the son of a gentleman at Stepney, who went up to Oxford in 1668, but of whose education in the two preceding years nothing is known. He sat in the House of Commons as member for Tiverton in several Parliaments, and succeeded an Old

¹ Venn's *Caius*, p. 438.

² Hist. MSS. Comm., 8th Rep., p. 439.



Sir G. Kneller pinx.]

[S. Poppelwhite sc.]

JOHN CHURCHILL, FIRST DUKE OF MARLBOROUGH, K.G.

[To face p. 226.]

Pauline, Sir John Trevor, as Attorney-General in 1701, remaining in that post till 1707. Sir Edward Northey was again senior law officer to the Crown from 1710 to 1718, and enjoyed the distinction of being Attorney-General during three reigns, those of William and Mary, Anne and George I.

Another Old Pauline who sat in the House of Commons with Northey was George Doddington, M.P. for Bridgewater, who was Treasurer of the Navy, one of the Lords of the Admiralty under George I, and Lord Lieutenant for Somerset. He is best remembered, perhaps, from the fact that he was the father of George Bubb Doddington, Lord Melcombe.

Incomparably the most famous Pauline of this time was John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough. He was born in 1650 at Ashe in Devonshire, at the seat of Sir John Drake, his maternal grandfather, where his father, Sir Winston Churchill, lived in retirement during the Protectorate. After the Restoration Sir Winston returned to his Dorsetshire manor of Wintern, which is only nine miles from Dorchester, at the grammar school of which Cromleholme, as head master, had gained the reputation of being the most distinguished school-master in the west of England.

To this is no doubt due the fact that Sir Winston Churchill, who moved up to London with his family shortly after the Restoration, sent his son to be educated by Cromleholme at St. Paul's.

Readers of Thackeray will remember that after speaking of the fact that Jack Churchill was Frank Esmond's lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Foot-guards, the novelist goes on to say, "he and Churchill had been *condiscipuli* at St. Paul's School."

John Churchill is said to have attracted the attention of James, Duke of York, in 1662, at a time, no doubt, when

he was a school-boy at St. Paul's, and it is worth observing that the year 1665, in which he entered the household of the King's brother, was that in which, on Midsummer Day, the school was dismissed, owing to the prevalence of the plague in the city of London. There is every reason to believe that on the occasions on which Pepys was paying visits to the high master, the future commander-in-chief was, as a boy of thirteen or fourteen, receiving his education in the school. It seems probable that the future Duke of Marlborough was three or four years at St. Paul's.

The only reference to his school-days which is known to exist is to be found in the copy of Knight's *Life of Colet* belonging to George North, who was one of the head boys of the school when the school feast of 1724-5 was celebrated.¹ Opposite the name of *Vegetius De re militari*, which occurs among the list of books in the library at the time when Knight's *Colet* was published, North wrote, "From this very book John Churchill, scholar of this school, afterwards the celebrated Duke of Marlborough, first learned the elements of the art of war ; as was told me, George North, on St. Paul's Day, 1724-5, by an old clergyman, who was a contemporary scholar, was then well acquainted with him, and frequently saw him read it. This I testify to be true. G. North."

It has been suggested that it is not very probable that a boy should have read a book as difficult as *Vegetius* at so early an age ; but the numerous prints which the volume contained may well have attracted his attention.

The earliest occasion on which the name of Marlborough is known to have been quoted as shedding distinction upon the school was in 1702, the year of the accession of Queen Anne, in which John Churchill, at that time Earl of Marlborough, became Ambassador Extraordinary at the

¹ *Pauline*, vol. iii. p. 473.

Hague, and Commander-in-Chief of the Allied forces in Flanders.

Among the Apposition speeches of that year, preserved in the Hartshorne collection,¹ Christopher Hussey, who was one of the head boys in the school, and who nine years later was a candidate for the Lucasian Professorship of Mathematics at Cambridge, in the course of his oration, after making mention of other Paulines, proceeds: "Hic Malburius denique ab ipso Caesare Gallos domare et a Gallorum Injuriis Vicinas Gentes tueri didicit. Hos Schola nostra olim nacta Alumnos jam Patronos suos habet, posthac semper, quod sperare licet, optare certe oportet, tales habitura."

In his sermon at the school feast in 1717-18, four years after Marlborough, on the accession of George I, had been re-instated as Captain-General and Master-General of Ordnance, Samuel Knight made reference to the distinguished Old Pauline. In his dedication of his *Life of Colet* to Spencer Compton, Speaker of the House of Commons, the same writer stated, "We have lately lost two persons of the most exalted station that our school could glory in, viz. the Dukes of Marlborough and Manchester; from whom as we have had many instances of favour, we might (if they had lived longer) have expected more."

Thomas Hough, who left the school in 1717, five years before Marlborough died, and preached at the school feast twelve years later, speaks of St. Paul's as having "supplied the camp with a general in whom courage, conduct and success conspired to render him the boast and glory of our age."

Nothing is known concerning "the instances of favour" shown by the Duke of Marlborough to his school. It may well be that the discovery of missing sermons at the school

¹ *Pauline*, vol. x., No. 55, p. 115.

feast will show that he served his turn as steward on some celebration of the Conversion of St. Paul, or that he was a benefactor to the library in which, while still a boy, he read *Vegetius*. His name alone, with that of Milton, is carved in letters of gold in the corridors of his school, and in the central window of the south side of the Great Hall stand side by side the arms of the two most famous alumni of St. Paul's.

Cromleholme educated the head of a house at Oxford in William Wyatt, who became a student of Christ Church, and afterwards public orator, and who was for twenty-two years principal of St. Mary Hall. He was a well-known Oriental scholar, described as "a man of excellent sense," and the reference to him in Hearne's *Diary* as "an honest man," indicates that he was, if not a Jacobite, at least a strong Tory.

Robert Nelson, one of the last of Cromleholme's pupils, died a year after Wyatt, who was one of the first boys educated by that high master. He shared the views of the Oxford Orientalist in more ways than one. He was born in 1656, and is said, after leaving St. Paul's, from which his mother took him "out of fondness," to have finished his education under a private tutor; but the fact that he spent some time on the Continent with Edmund Halley, the first of Gale's pupils, as a travelling companion, suggests that he remained in the school after the death of Cromleholme. He was a fellow-commoner of Trinity, Cambridge, and was elected Fellow of the Royal Society at the early age of twenty-four. He became well known as a Nonjuror, but conformed in 1709, after the death of Bishop Lloyd. His wife, Lady Theophila, the daughter of the Earl of Berkeley, became a Catholic under the influence of Bossuet, and died in that faith in spite of the endeavours of Tillotson, who was an intimate friend of her husband and died in his

arms. Nelson was a great promoter of the S.P.G. and the S.P.C.K., and on his death left his whole estate in charitable bequests. Dr. Johnson, who said that he was the original of Richardson's *Sir Charles Grandison*, spoke to Boswell of "the excellent Mr. Nelson's *Festivals and Fasts*," which has, I understand, the greatest sale of any book ever printed in England, except the Bible, and is a most valuable help to devotion."

On the death in 1710 of William Lloyd, the last but one of the deprived bishops, Ken, the last survivor, expressed his desire that the schism should end, and Nelson accordingly received the sacrament from the Archbishop of York. In the same year he served with his school-fellow, Sir Edward Northey, on the commission appointed to build fifty new churches in London.

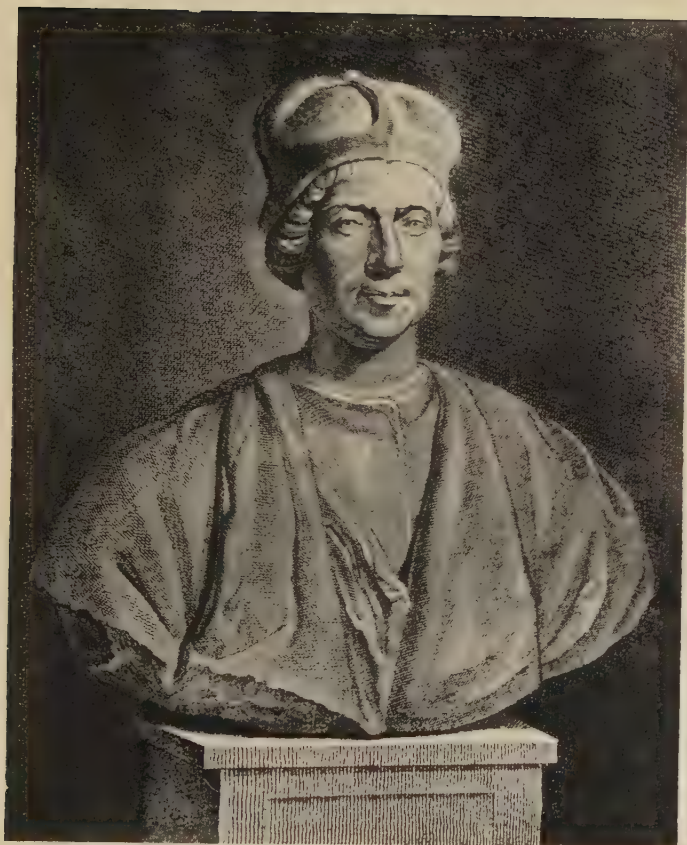
A sign of the popularity of the school with Dissenters, established by Langley, although it had grown very slight under Cromleholme, is to be found in the presence of two boys, John and Samuel Annesley—the latter of whom was "Poor Scholar"—who were the sons of Samuel Annesley, a well-known Nonconformist divine, whose sister became the mother of Samuel and Charles Wesley.

One interesting incident which illustrates Cromleholme's judgment of the abilities of his scholars is to be found in a MS. life of John Strype, by Dr. Samuel Knight, which is preserved among the Baumgartner papers in the University of Cambridge.

The ecclesiastical historian was the son of a Dutchman, who lived in the city of London. The boy was delicate, and was sent to a school in Hackney, from whence he was removed in 1657 to St. Paul's, where he remained more than four years. "By a trifling incident," his biographer goes on to say, "he was like to have been removed from hence also, when he had got to some height in the school,

and placed under the immediate care of the high master. It seems it was thus : the high master being out of school, and the boys behaving rudely in the same form with Mr. Strype, the under or surmaster steps in, and, not rightly knowing whom to fix upon as the offenders, amongst others he seizes young Strype, and without further inquiry was sending him out into the vestibulum, in order to give him correction, which then was whipping. Mr. Strype, finding himself likely to be thus treated without offence or accusation, takes an opportunity to fly from the undeserved punishment, and runs home without books or hat. Coming home unexpectedly before the usual time, his mother seemed much concerned, till he told her the whole matter, and concluded that he hoped she would seek some other school, for he would never like to go there again. Advice was taken upon it with his uncle, Samuel Bonnel, and it was agreed that he should be sent to Merchant Taylors' ; and accordingly he accompanied him thither. The head master happened to be out of the way, and Mr. Crumleholme, high master of Paul's, missing his scholar (for he much affected him), inquires into the reason, and sends for him, promising all matters should be set to rights if he would return. Accordingly they were, and he returned, having obtained a promise that the surmaster for the future should be warned never to meddle with him. And thus he got over this first discouragement to his learning."

Among a collection of school and college exercises which Knight preserved, intending to print them as an appendix to Strype's Life, there is a copy of Latin Alcaics in imitation of Horace, which is said to have been "one which his master Crumleholm loved to talk of and commend, often telling him : 'I shall never forget the ode you made in such a place,' pointing to some particular seat in a form he had been in." Strype, on his part, speaks in his edition of Stow's



THE ANCIENT BUST OF DEAN COLET, SAVED FROM THE GREAT FIRE

[To face p. 232.]

Survey, of Cromleholme, "from whose care of my Education which I think myself bound publickly to acknowledge, I removed to the University of Cambridge, Anno 1661."

One relic of the first school, which is still preserved at St. Paul's, is described by Strype¹ as "a lively *effigies*, and of exquisite art, of the head of Dr. Colet, cut, as it seemed, either in stone or wood," and the same writer adds, "but this figure was destroyed with the school in the great fire; yet was afterwards found in the rubbish by a curious man and searcher into the City antiquities, who observed, and so told me, that it was cast and hollow, by a curious art now lost."

This "searcher into City antiquities" was John Bagford, who left an account of early grammars in use at St. Paul's and was a well-known bookseller in his day.

A worse fate, unfortunately, befell the treasure of which Pepys writes in his *Diary* on February 7, 1659-60. "Thence to School where he that made the speech for the Seventh Form in praise of the Founder did show a book which Mr. Crumlum had lately got, and which is believed to be of the Founders own writing."

A few of the books in the library appear to have survived the fire, notably volumes of *Nizolius*, *Budaeus*, and the *Uranologion*, which may have been borrowed by boys in the school at the time of the fire. The *Stephanus Thesaurus*, presented by Pepys, of which the diarist writes that at an Apposition "Dr. Crumlum did me much honour by telling many what a present I had made to the School," was not destroyed, but the fact that it has been re-bound has robbed it of "the strings & gold letters bought by the High Master," as Pepys records, out of "the 10s. remaining not laid out of the £5 I promised him for the School."

During the years immediately following the fire, the

¹ Strype's *Stow*, i. p. 164.

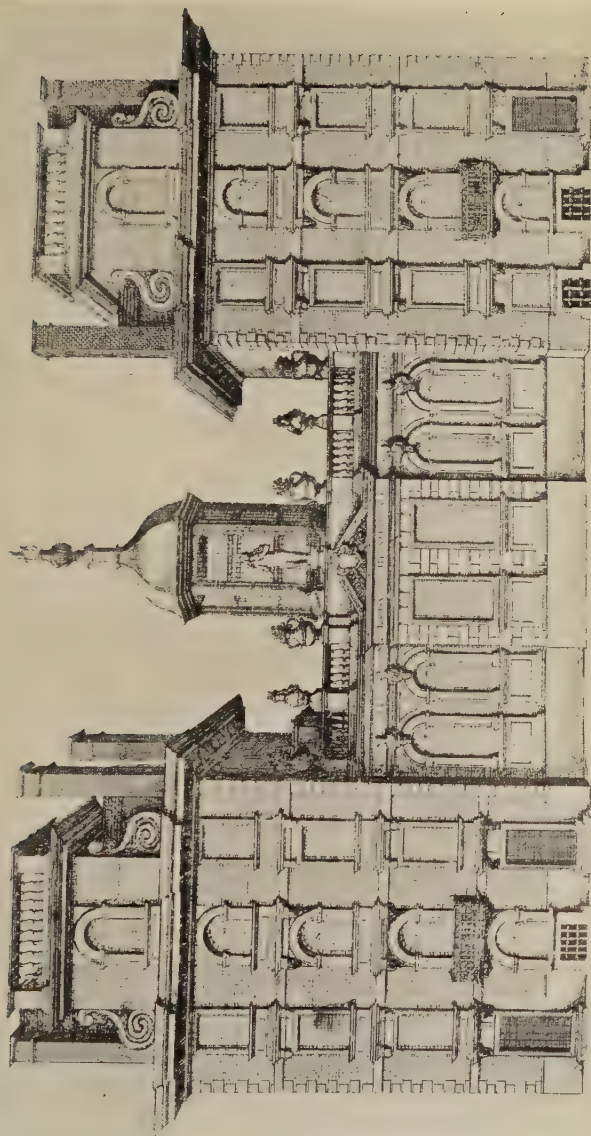
school accounts refer to the clearing away of rubbish. In the two following years the entries deal with the purchase of additional ground and tenements in Old Change, while the years 1668 to 1670 are occupied with statements dealing with the expense of rebuilding.

The inscription over the door of the second school recorded that in the latter year it was "feliciter restaurata post incendium," but, according to the Mercers' minutes, it was not until March 28, 1671, that it was ordered that the school should re-open the next week after Easter week.

That the decision of the Mercers to rebuild on the old site was not arrived at without some hesitation is to be inferred from a passage in Pepys' *Diary*. "1667, 16th May. Sir John Frederick, and Sir Richard Ford did talke of St. Paul's School which they tell me must be taken away ; and then I fear it will be long before another place such as they say is promised, is found : but they do say that the honour of their Company is concerned in it, and that it is a thing they are obliged to do."

The main alteration in the site of the new building was aimed at bringing the front of the school parallel with the eastern end of St. Paul's Churchyard, the line of frontage being advanced ten feet at the northern end, and set back to a slightly less extent at the southern end. In addition, two plots of land north and south of the small piece owned by the school in Old Change, were added to the original ground plan, thereby greatly increasing the accommodation at the back of the school, and changing the shape of the ground plan from a regular oblong 120 feet by 33 feet to an irregular quadrilateral 38 feet deep at the northern, and 27 feet deep at the southern, end.

John Strype, who, in his edition of Stow's *Survey*, devotes five folio pages to St. Paul's School, says, "From this School I was sent to Cambridge, having had my



W. Hollar del.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL IN 1670

[To face p. 234.]

education there by the good Providence of God, for near the space of six years."

It is this fact which makes his description of the buildings of the school of such value. Strype left St. Paul's in 1661, and in his edition of *Stow* he has left us an exact and detailed account of the first building as it appeared five years before its destruction in the Fire of London.

Elsewhere,¹ he speaks of the "beautifull rebuilding of the School," and says that it was "burnt down in the Common calamity by Fire, Anno 1666, but built up again much after the same Manner and Proportion as it was before, together with the Library, and an house added on to the South end thereof for the second Master ; whose Dwelling before, and from the first Founding of the School was in the old Change adjoining to the said School ; This House hath a very handsome Front, answerable to the high Master's House at the North end of the school, on which is engraved *Aedes Praeceptoris Grammatices*." The earliest engraving of the second building of the school is one of which two copies only are known to be extant, one at the British Museum and one at the Guildhall Library. It differs from all the other views of the school, of which the earliest, which is in the Pepysian Library, is that on the invitation to the school feast of 1703, in that over the school-room there is a louvre, and the first floor windows of the masters' houses have wrought-iron balconies. The engraving is said to be the work of Wenceslaus Hollar, or possibly of his pupil, Richard Gaywood. Tradition asserts that Sir Christopher Wren was the architect of the second school building, but it must be admitted that its style is more suggestive of Inigo Jones.

A description of this building, written exactly a hundred

¹ Strype's *Stow*, 1754, vol. i. p. 86.

years after its erection, speaks of it as¹ "a very beautiful, and at the same time very singular fabric. The central building is of stone, and is much lower than the wings. It has only one series of windows, which are large and raised a considerable height from the ground. The centre is adorned with rustic, and on the top is a well-proportioned pediment, on which is displayed a shield with the arms of the founder, on the apex is a figure designed to represent learning. Under this pediment are two square, and on each side two circular, windows crowned with busts, and the spaces between them are handsomely ornamented by work in relievo, upon a level with the foot of the pediment, on either side of which are correspondently placed two larger busts, with radiated crowns, betwixt two flaming vases."

Other accounts speak of the "large and elegant apartments" of the high master, and of the fact that in the school-room, "Doce Disce aut Discede" was inscribed over the door, while above the bust of Colet, which surmounted the high master's chair, was written the inscription, "Intendas animum studiis et rebus honestis."²

It is a fact not generally known, that some of the oak panelling from the second building of the school is to be seen in Mickleham Church, Surrey. Mr. A. Gordon Pollock, O.P., the son and grandson of Old Paulines, tells me that when, in 1900, he was jotting down various items for the records of the parish of which he is a churchwarden, the old village carpenter told him of a tradition that certain panelling in the church was brought by Mr. Thomas Grissell, of Norbury Park, from some old school in London. As Mr. Grissell was an Old Pauline, having entered the school in 1812, Mr. Pollock made further inquiry from his

¹ H. Chamberlain, *Survey of London*, 1770.

² Brayley, *Beauties of England*, vol. x., 1810, p. 321.

son, and was told by Mr. Hartwell Grissell that his father purchased much of the wood of the library of the building of St. Paul's, which was erected in 1670 and destroyed in 1823, that some of the wood was used in doors, etc., in Norbury Park, and the panelling was placed in the side chapel on the north of the church, which is the Norbury Park pew.

An expert, who has seen these handsome panels, with bosses and conventional designs carved in high relief, has expressed to me the strong opinion that the carving appears to be of a much earlier date than 1670, probably of about 1590, and it is just possible that it may be a relic of the first school built by Colet, which escaped the Great Fire and was re-erected in the second school building.

According to Samuel Knight, who entered St. Paul's less than twenty years after the school was rebuilt, the Mercers' Company spent £6,000 on the building of the second school.

Cromleholme survived little more than a year after the rebuilding. He died on July 21, 1672, and was buried in the Lord Mayor's Chapel in the Guildhall. Dr. John Wells of St. Botolph, Aldersgate, preached his funeral sermon. Rings were distributed at the interment, having, according to Richard Smyth, "the posie, 'Redime Tempus,' engraved upon them."¹

"He was very happy," declares one of his contemporaries, "in sending out many excellent scholars from under his care," and Dr. Knight is well justified in his assertion, "I could enumerate many of this man's scholars who arrived at great eminency of one kind or other."

A more personal note is struck in a sermon at the school feast, preached by Benjamin Calamy, one of his pupils, a few years after his death, in which reference is made to "persons, well taught and bred, whose natures

¹ Camden Society, 1849.

have been refin'd and polish'd, and minds improved and cultivated and new moulded and fashioned, by the Care and Skill of those excellent persons to whose charge we were committed."

Mention of the school feast recalls the fact that the first of the anniversary meetings of Old Paulines was held on the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, either in 1660 or 1661. Other schools soon followed the example of St. Paul's. The first Eton feast was held in 1681, the first Merchant Taylors' feast in 1700. In the last days of Charles II a meeting of Old Westminster was projected, and Dr. South wrote a sermon, but the King's death stopped the gathering, and the plan was in abeyance until it was revived forty years later, in 1727. The Charterhouse feast was first held in 1755.

That Cromleholme taught at St. Paul's other Oriental languages than Hebrew is evident from the fact that Samuel Johnson is said to have acquired much perfection in Oriental languages at the school, and that in the MS. Life of John Strype, to which reference has been made in another connection, he is said to have made good progress in Hebrew and Syriac, "for which that school was famous in his time."

It is on record that "Cocker was an unruly usher of St. Paul's School, twice deposed for his extreme opinions, and twice restored for his marvellous talents of teaching." It thus appears that the well-known writing master and author of the famous arithmetic, whose name became, and has remained, proverbial for precision, taught during some part of his life in the school.

Edward Cocker, who introduced the present method of performing division, and whom Evelyn speaks of as "comparable to the Italians for his letters and flourishes," was born in 1631, and died in 1675. His active career accordingly coincided with the high masterships of Langley and

Cromleholme. He was employed in 1664 to engrave a sliding rule by Samuel Pepys, who notes in his *Diary*, "I find the fellow, by his discourse, very ingenious: and among other things, a great admirer and well read in the English poets, and undertakes to judge them all, and that not impertinently." No mention of any sort is made of the fact of his teaching at St. Paul's, which makes it practically certain that he did not teach there before 1650, the year in which Pepys left the school, and raises a very strong presumption that he had not been appointed at the date of the diarist's reference. We may safely assume, then, that he was appointed not by Langley, who died in 1657, but by Cromleholme, and if he continued to teach until the date of his death he must have served for two or three years under Gale.

It is significant of much in regard to the political views of those in authority at St. Paul's, that at the coronation of Charles II the boys of Christ's Hospital, and not those of St. Paul's, presented an address to the sovereign as he passed through St. Paul's Churchyard. Nevertheless, on the occasion of his public entry into London at his Restoration, a contemporary document relates how "at St Paul's School the ministers of London presented him with a Bible. He thanked them for it, and said that he would make that book the rule of his life and government, and he desired Dr. Reynolds to bring the book to him at Whitehall."¹

Another pupil of Cromleholme who, besides Bradford, became master of a Cambridge college was John Balderstone. He went up to Emmanuel in the year after Cromleholme's election, and must in consequence have been in the school under Langley, from whom he appears to have assimilated his political principles. In 1680 he was elected master of his college, and retained the post until his death, nearly

¹ Hist. MSS. Comm., 12th Rep., App. 7, p. 25.

forty years later. In 1687, when Dr. Peachell was turned out of the vice-chancellorship for refusing the degree of Master of Arts to the Benedictine monk whom James II had armed with letters of recommendation, Balderstone was chosen to succeed him "as a man of much spirit," and "in his speech," continues Bishop Burnet, in his account of the affair, "he promised that during his magistracy neither religion nor the rights of the University should suffer by his means."¹

A less fortunate Pauline upholder of Protestantism, and opponent of the Tory doctrine of non-resistance was Samuel Johnson, whose views were very different from those of his great namesake. He was a poor scholar at St. Paul's, and was also "Library Keeper" there. After graduating at Trinity, where he was a Campden Exhibitioner, he became chaplain to Lord William Russell, and was sentenced to a fine and imprisonment for having written in defence of the latter's work, *Julian the Apostate*. From his prison he secretly issued *A humble and hearty address to all the Protestants in King James' Army*, for which he was sentenced, after being degraded from his clerical office, to stand in the pillory and be whipped from Newgate to Tyburn. After the Revolution, however, his degradation was declared illegal, and he received £1,000 and a pension from William III.

He was abused under the name of Ben-Jochanan by Dryden in *Absalom and Achitophel*, where he says—

"Let Hebron, nay, let Hell, produce a man
So made for mischief as Ben-Jochanan."

One of the editors of the poem wrote of Samuel Johnson that "of all the seditious writers here proscribed by Dryden, he was the man of greatest learning and best morals," while it is said in *Calamy's Puritans* that "he was

¹ Burnet's *Hist. of his Own Times*.

by many thought to have done more towards paving the way for King William's revolution than any man in England besides."

In 1686 Johnson was offered by the King the Deanery of Durham, but he refused it on the ground that any preferment other than a bishopric was less than his deserts.

Puritan influences notwithstanding, the reputation of St. Paul's as a pillar of the Establishment at this date may be inferred from the fact that John Eachard, in a tract on *The Grounds and Occasions of the contempt of the Clergy and Religion*, which was published in 1670, makes the following remark: "Not that it is necessary to believe that there never was a learned or useful person in the Church but such whose education had been at Westminster or St. Paul's.

One of the earliest of Cromleholme's pupils at St. Paul's was a Welsh boy, George Jeffreys by name, who had received his education up to the age of eleven, when he came to London, at Shrewsbury School. It is on record that while at St. Paul's, "he applied himself with considerable diligence to Greek and Latin," and although he was at Westminster under Busby for a few months before entering at Trinity, Cambridge, nevertheless, throughout his career he admitted that all his scholarship was due to Cromleholme's instruction. A story is related to the effect that when George Jeffreys as a schoolboy at St. Paul's saw the Lord Mayor's coach pass the school, he registered a vow that he would one day be the Lord Mayor's guest, and would die Lord Chancellor of England.

There can be no doubt whatever that the severity of Jeffreys when acting as president of the five judges appointed to try the rebels after Monmouth's defeat at Sedgmoor in 1685 has been exaggerated when it is compared with the conduct by other tribunals of political trials at the same date, and the hatred on the part of Whig historians of the

political tenets of his master has tended to obscure the remarkable abilities of a great lawyer. Mr. Speaker Onslow says that "he was a great Chancellor in the business of the Court, and was considered an able and upright judge in private causes." Roger North, who hated him, was constrained to admit that he possessed "extraordinary natural abilities," and that when he was "in temper," and the matters before him were indifferent, "he became the seat of justice better than any other he ever saw in his place"; while Evelyn, although he said that he was "of nature cruel, and a slave to the Court," praised him for his "undaunted and assured spirit."

Even those who are most severe in their condemnation of Jeffreys for his conduct of the "Bloody Assize," can scarcely deny to St. Paul's full justification for the fact that it has placed in its Great Hall the arms of a man, only sixteen years of whose life elapsed between his call to the Bar and his taking his seat upon the Woolsack. Two years after becoming a barrister Jeffreys was made Common Sergeant of the City of London. Six years later he was knighted, and in the following year, 1678, became Recorder of London. The two following years saw his assumption of the coif as Serjeant-at-Law, and his appointment as King's Serjeant and Chief Justice of Chester. In 1683 he became Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and in the same year received a baronetcy, while two years later, in 1685, at the age of thirty-seven, he became Lord Chancellor, having been created Baron Jeffreys of Wem six months earlier. He retained the Lord Chancellorship for three years, but in December 1688, on James II's abdication, he attempted to escape from the country in the disguise of a sailor, but was recognized and arrested at Wapping, and died in the Tower in April 1689.

Christopher Hussey, whose Apposition Speech of 1702

has already been alluded to, inserted the following sentence¹ between the mention which he made of the Dukes of Manchester and of Marlborough: "Hic Graius a Consulibus Praetoribusque Romanis prudentiam illam accepit qua postea Indos nostros felicissime rexit." Knight's *Life of Colet* contains a list in the appendix headed, "Benefactores bibliothecae, plerique alumni scholae Paulinae et procuratores convivii publici." Among the names under the year 1674 appears "Radulph. Gray, arm. postea vero bar. Gray de Werk comes de Tankerville," and in the list for 1677 appears the name "Ralph Gray."² The three references have hitherto been taken to relate to one person: Ralph, fourth Lord Grey of Werke, Governor of the Barbadoes in 1698. There was no such person as Ralph, Earl of Tankerville, but the fact that the Governor of the Barbadoes succeeded his brother, the notorious Ford Gray, who held both the earldom and the barony, accounts for the mistake, for the earldom was only granted to the descendants of the latter, and became extinct on his death in 1701, while the barony, as has been said, passed to his brother. Now, the fourth Lord Grey died in 1706 at the age of forty-five, and therefore was aged only thirteen years in 1674, the date in which he has been supposed to have been Steward of the Feast. His father, however, also named Ralph Gray, was then entitled to be called "armiger," since it was not until the end of that year that he succeeded to the title of Baron Grey of Werke. He died a year later, in 1675. These facts, taken with the recurrence of the name of Ralph Gray in Knight's list for 1677, without any addition of titles, which the fourth Lord Grey did not inherit till 1701, make it highly probable that two persons are meant. If this is the case, the second Lord Grey, who was born in 1630, must have been a pupil of

¹ *Pauline*, No. 75, p. 81, June 1695.

² Knight, *Colet*. 1823, p. 376.

Langley, while the fourth Lord Grey was at St. Paul's under Cromleholme.

The fourth Lord Grey of Werke, who was Governor of the Barbadoes in 1698, had been an officer in the army, and attended William of Orange in most of his campaigns. Bishop Burnet says of him, "he is a sweet disposed gentleman, and joined King William at the Revolution, and is a zealous asserter of the liberties of the people—a thin, brown, handsome man, of middle stature." To which Swift appends the unkind note, "Had very little in him."

Seven Campden Exhibitions were awarded during the fifteen years of Cromleholme's high mastership, of these six were granted before the Great Fire. The Pauline Exhibitions were awarded with great regularity in the years from 1657 to 1665, more than thirty boys reaping the benefit of the foundation at the Universities. It was, no doubt, due to the loss occasioned by the fire, and the expense involved in rebuilding, that none of these exhibitions were again awarded until 1678, eight years after the school had been re-opened. In 1666–7 existing exhibitors received only a quarter- or half-year's payment, and then the payments ceased till Lady Day 1670. In 1664 a new regulation was made with regard to candidates for exhibitions. It was resolved that boys must have been in the school at least four years before they could sue for exhibitions. One of the first to suffer from this rule was a boy who became a Fellow of Merton, and was known afterwards as Sir William Bernard, whom the high master in 1665 recommended for an exhibition, as "pauper, pius, et doctus." He was refused because he had not been four years in the school, but it was promised by the Court of Assistants that he should be "regarded with favour."

In spite of the fact that less than forty of Cromleholme's pupils received exhibitions at the Universities, at least sixty-

four are known to have proceeded to Oxford and Cambridge, less than a third of the total going to Oxford. About the same proportion is maintained in the number who obtained fellowships, three being elected to Oxford colleges, and seven to colleges at Cambridge. Three out of these ten Fellows became heads of Houses. The names of only seven "poor scholars" under Cromleholme have been preserved, each of these held the post for one year.

CHAPTER XIV

THE NEW SCHOOL BUILDING

THOMAS GALE, HIGH MASTER 1672-1697

WITHIN a fortnight of Cromleholme's funeral the Court of the Mercers' Company met to select his successor. Of the candidates for the post, and of the details of the election, nothing is known, save that the choice of the company fell upon Thomas Gale, who a few months before, and not, as the *Dictionary of National Biography* states, six years before, had been elected to the Regius Professorship of Greek in the University of Cambridge. This fact alone implies that he was an eminent scholar. It is a great tribute to the prestige which the school attained in the high mastership of Cromleholme that a man in such a position as that held by Gale should have become a candidate for the post when the vacancy occurred. One obvious explanation which has been put forward to account for Gale's application is that a desire on his part to marry, which was impossible while he was Regius Professor, was the cause, but the fact that his eldest son, Roger, was born in 1672, in the August of the year in which Thomas Gale was appointed to St. Paul's, disposes of this explanation, and renders it inadmissible.

The new high master was at this time about thirty-seven years of age, having been born at Scruton, in Yorkshire, in 1636, and being the only surviving son of Christopher Gale. He was educated at St. Peter's College, Westminster, under



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THOMAS GALE, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL AND
DEAN OF YORK

From a drawing in the Pefysian Collection

[To face p. 246.]

Busby, the most famous, if not the greatest, of its head masters, and being admitted King's Scholar in 1655 he was elected a Westminster scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, where he took his B.A. degree in 1659 and proceeded to his M.A. three years later. He was elected to a fellowship at Trinity, and his political views at this time may, perhaps, be deduced from the fact that he contributed verses to the *Luctus et Gratulatio* on the death of Oliver Cromwell in 1658, but three years later we find him contributing to the *Threni Cantabrigienses* on the deaths of the Duke of Gloucester and the Princess of Orange, while the last of his efforts in this direction is to be found in the *Epicedia Cantabrigienses* in 1671.

In 1670 he was appointed Senior Taxor of the University of Cambridge, and he was admitted M.A. of Oxford on the day after the opening of the Sheldonian Theatre.

On the occasion of his appointment to St. Paul's James Duport, who had been one of his predecessors in the Regius Professorship of Greek, and who was at this date Master of Magdalene, addressed to him¹ a copy of verses which ran as follows—

“Prudens Paulinae Moderator, Gale, juventae,
Verum tum fausti nominis omen habe.
Tu pueris sis ergo φερώνυμος, aura secunda,
Doctrinae ad portum quos, Palinure, vehas.
Dat Deus ipse άνεμον πλησίστιον, ἱκμενον οὖρον
Et tibi, Paulinae et prospera vela rati.
Undique sic verum nomen, doctissime Gale,
Seu *Paulinurus* seu *Palinurus* eris.
Paulinum appellat *Palinurum* Bilbilitanus
Quam bellè quadrat nomen utrumque tibi !
Paulinae Seneca Praeceptor Caesaris, olim
Conjux : *Paulinae* tu *Seneca* esto tuae.”²

On Gale's appointment to the high mastership, John Mason, the chaplain, was the only remaining member of

¹ Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes*, vol. iv. p. 537.

² Duport, *Musae Subsecivae*, 1676, p. 16.

the staff who had taught in the school before the fire, for Nathaniel Bull, Cromleholme's surmaster, had died some time before Midsummer 1672, and, as a result, the burden of restoring the school to its former position fell on the shoulders of the new high master alone, a process which cannot have proceeded very far in the few months which Cromleholme and Bull, both the victims of ill health, had spent in the new buildings. Of these Gale himself spoke¹ as the most sumptuous and beautiful of their kind which the city of London had to show, an opinion which was repeated almost verbatim by a preacher at the school feast in 1714.

There can be no doubt that the fame of St. Paul's at this time ranked very high. With the exception of the brief tenure of office, for less than six years, by the younger Gill, there had been a succession of high masters of great reputation for very nearly a hundred years. To succeed to Mulcaster, the elder Gill, Langley and Cromleholme was to inherit a tradition of great success, to which there can be little doubt Thomas Gale did more than justice.

That Gale admitted more than the statutory hundred and fifty and three boys is obvious from the fact that in February 1674, less than eighteen months after his appointment, it was resolved by the Court of the Mercers' Company, "that the school must not be oppressed with numbers." The possibility of such a thing having occurred so soon after Gale's election, and within four years of the rebuilding, after four years' complete cessation owing to the fire, is a great tribute to the success of the new high master.

That Gale received boarders in his house is almost certainly established by the fact that in 1676-7 the high master's house was enlarged, for in that year a sum of £110 was laid out in the purchase of the house in Old Change,

¹ Gale's dedication to *Rhetores Selecti*, Oxford, 1676.

which ran immediately behind the school, and this building was "laid into the high master's house." One thing at any rate is certain, and that is that the size of Gale's family made no such demand for increased accommodation, for it was not until August 1677 that his second child, his son Charles, was born.

Among the pupils of Langley and Cromleholme we have had occasion to notice the presence, in the sons, for example, of baronets and knights, of a certain number of boys of higher social status than those who for the most part, as far as one is aware, were in earlier days attracted by Dean Colet's foundation. This tendency was maintained under Gale, and, indeed, became more marked, for among the names of those educated under him at St. Paul's there occur in addition those of several sons of peers whom either the prestige of the school or the reputation of the high master attracted to its walls.

In 1656 the exhibition, which three years before had been awarded to one Thomas Colley of Peterhouse, was declared void, the reason given being that "he was the son of a very able and sufficient man." Whether the Mercers required some guarantee of poverty in all cases in those enjoying their exhibitions we do not know, nor do we know what was the standard which they insisted upon fixing in this connection. The parentage of many of the pupils of Gale's predecessors leaves no doubt that they too must have been the sons of very able and sufficient men, while some of the boys of aristocratic birth whom he educated can have stood in no need of the free education which St. Paul's School was able to provide.

We have seen, moreover, that the number of boys whom the school was statutorily enabled to educate free was exceeded, and therefore one may safely assume that the warning which, in March 1692, was given to Gale and the

other masters "not to receive gratuities" can mean nothing else than that the payment which, without a doubt, was made for the education of some of the boys of St. Paul's, went henceforward, not into the pockets of the masters of the school, but into the hands of the Mercers' Company.

Three years after his appointment to St. Paul's Gale took his D.D. degree, and in the following year, 1676, he became a Prebendary of St. Paul's, "being one of them," says Samuel Knight, "called consumpt. per Mare." In the following year he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society, of which he became one of the most active and well-known members. He frequently sat on the council of that learned body and presented many curiosities to its museum, and in 1679 wrote, at the request of the Society, the inscription for the *Bibliotheca Norfolciana*. Some measure of his reputation among the men of science who attended the meetings in Somerset House may be gauged from the circumstance that less than ten years after his election as Fellow he was, in January 1685-6, appointed its honorary secretary jointly with Sir John Hoskyns, Bart., M.P., his school-fellow at Westminster, and it is of interest to note that the assistant whom they appointed was one of Gale's earliest pupils at St. Paul's. This was Edmund Halley, the greatest man of science who has ever been educated in the school, of whose brilliance Gale had had opportunities of judging from the fact that in 1673 he had been captain of the school, the first of whom there is any record as having attained to that position, since it was not till 1749 that the list of captains was begun in any form in which it is known to be extant to-day.

Gale was directed by Royal command to write the inscription on the monument erected in commemoration of the Great Fire. For writing this the Corporation made him a presentation of plate. The inscription round the



EDMUND HALLEY, F.R.S., ASTRONOMER ROYAL

From the "Universal Magazine"

[To face p. 259.]

plinth was to the effect that, "This pillar was set vp in perpetvall remembrance of that most dreadful burning of this protestant city, begun and carryed on by ye treachery and malice of ye popish faction in ye beginning of September in ye year of our Lord 1666, in order to ye carrying on their horrid plott for extirpating ye protestant religion and old English liberty, and ye introducing popery and slavery."

This it was, as all the world knows, together with the ominous inscription on the north side, concluding, "*sed furor papisticus qui tam dira patravit nondum extinguitur*," which led Alexander Pope, as a Catholic, to write of—

"Where London's column pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully lifts the head and lies."

A very natural mistake has been made in supposing that the high master of St. Paul's was responsible for this offensive effusion of bigotry, but in point of fact neither of the above formed part of the original inscription written by Gale. They were added in 1681, when passions were inflamed by the perjuries of Titus Oates and Bedloe, by order of the Court of Aldermen, and Gale had no share in their composition. Their subsequent history is not without interest. They were obliterated in James II's reign, cut deeper than before in that of William III, and finally erased pursuant to an Act of Common Council in 1831, about a year after the members of the communion which they had so grossly slandered were admitted to the rights of citizenship by the Emancipation Act.

Gale continued as high master with increasing reputation until 1697, when he was preferred to the Deanery of York.

On leaving London he presented a Roman urn to Gresham College. To the new library at Trinity College, Cambridge, which Sir Christopher Wren had just completed, he made a present of a curious collection of Arabic MSS.

At York he was noted for his good government, and for his care in embellishing and restoring the cathedral, while in addition to this he was in a sense a benefactor to the deanery by obtaining in 1699 letters-patent settling the right of the Dean to be a Canon Residentiary. He survived his preferment only five years, and died in York in April 1692, in the sixty-seventh year of his age. He was buried in the middle of the choir of York Minster, and the inordinately long epitaph, which is carved on a black marble slab covering his remains, records among other things how among those who mourned him were—

“Apud Londinates
Viri literatissimi in Rempublicam
Et Patriae commodum
Ex gymnasio Paulino emissi.”

Samuel Knight, who was one of his pupils, records that “he was a learned divine, a great historian and antiquary, and one of the best Grecians of his age, and to whom I must ever own myself indebted on many accounts.”

Shortly before his appointment to St. Paul's, Gale, as we have seen, was married. His wife was Barbara, daughter of Roger Pepys of Impington, at one time M.P. for Cambridge, and a cousin of Samuel Pepys. It must ever be subject for regret to Paulines that the sight of the Navy Secretary was such that he was compelled to abandon keeping a diary three years before his connection by marriage became high master of the school in which Pepys took so great an interest; since but for this we should have been given a lifelike picture of one who, as a scholar and a virtuoso, must have been a supremely congenial friend.

According to Anthony à Wood, Gale was “much celebrated for his admirable knowledge in the Greek tongue, and for his great labour and industry in publishing Greek authors;” while another writer says with truth that

“his excellent conduct and commendable industry in the school abundantly appear from the great number of persons eminently learned who were educated by him.”¹

John Evelyn, whose friendship Gale enjoyed, had the highest opinion of the character and ability of the high master. He refers in his diary on one occasion to the fact that he met at supper at Sir Joseph Williamson’s, “Dr. Gale, that learned schole master of St. Paul’s”; while some years later he recounts that he “dined with Dr. Gale of St. Paul’s School, who shewed me many passages out of some ancient Platonist manuscripts concerning the Trinity, which this great and learned man would publish if he was encouraged and eased of the burden of teaching.”

Gale’s reputation as a scholar was European, and he maintained a correspondence with some of the most noted men of learning on the Continent. Mabillon, the celebrated Benedictine antiquarian, presented him with an ancient MS. on the Archbishops of York; and Huet, the Bishop of Avranches and editor of the Delphin Classics, declared that Gale exceeded all men he ever knew both for modesty and versatility of learning.

Gale’s books and MSS. descended to his eldest son, Roger, who carefully catalogued them and bequeathed them on his death to Trinity College, Cambridge, over the door in the library of which hang portraits of himself and his father, both of which had held fellowships on that foundation.

Some measure of Gale’s reputation among his contemporaries may be obtained from the names of the distinguished men who committed their sons to his care. The list includes Robert, third Earl of Manchester; Charles, eighth Earl of Derby; Roger, second Earl of Orrery; James, third Earl of Northampton; Ralph, second Lord Grey of Werke;

¹ Nichols’ *Literary Anecdotes*, iv. p. 537.

Sir William D'Oyley ; Sir Henry Maunsell ; Sir Hugh Cholmeley ; Sir William Clarges ; Sir Edward Farmer ; Sir William Cowper ; Sir Charles Scarborough ; and Sir Richard Lloyd ; while John Williams, Bishop of Chichester ; Edward Stillingfleet, Dean of St. Paul's and later Bishop of Worcester, had sons at St. Paul's under Gale ; and Tenison, Archbishop of Canterbury, sent his nephew to be educated by the same high master.

The abolition of the Court of Wards after the Restoration was one of the factors which set the current of fashionable society strongly in favour of the public schools ; and it was this tendency, together with the high esteem in which Gale was held, which was responsible for the number of sons of men of rank and position whose names appear in the school register about this time.

The death of the surmaster, Nathaniel Bull, shortly after Gale's appointment, created a vacancy which, after having had a temporary occupant, was filled by the appointment of Francis Fox, who, like his predecessor and like Gale himself, was an old Westminster, and had been captain of the school a few years after the latter. He died after thirteen years at St. Paul's, "*virtutibus non annis plenus*," according to his epitaph, and was succeeded by Philip Ayscough, who retained the post until his election as high master nearly thirty years later.

In the sermon preached by Benjamin Calamy, which is preserved among his collected works, but the date of which is unknown unless we take the reference of a preacher¹ at a later feast, who speaks of its having been printed in 1690, we find an outburst characteristic of the Puritan stock from which the preacher came—

"To move one's Body gracefully and in time, to bow and cringe in Mode and Figure . . . to know how to em-

¹ D. Bellamy, in his Sermon of 1756.

broider a Discourse with many Oaths and a little Atheism ; to be able to drink high and to hector loudly ; to abuse a Parson and to dare to kill a man, these and such others not worth naming are too often nowadays reputed the only genteel Accomplishments of a well-bred Person. But these are not the things we learnt in St. Paul's School, nor is this the education which we now assemble in God's House to bless his name for."

The old-established privilege of St. Paul's of presenting addresses to the Sovereign on the occasion of State processions past the school was exercised in 1681, when it is recorded¹ that during the progress of the King and Queen to the Lord Mayor's banquet "at St. Paul's School a lad recited some Latin and English verse."

Two of Gale's pupils, Nathaniel Lloyd and Spencer Cowper, distinguished themselves in the legal profession. The inclination towards the law was in the case of the former hereditary, for he was the son of Sir Richard Lloyd, Chancellor of Durham. He became Fellow of All Souls', King's Advocate, Dean of Arches, and Judge of the Admiralty Court ; and in 1710, the year in which he was knighted, was elected to the mastership of Trinity Hall, in the chapel of which he was buried, and to which, as well as to All Souls' and to St. Paul's School, he was a great benefactor. On his election to the Vice-Chancellorship of Cambridge in the first of his twenty-five years as master of "the Hall," Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, according to the diary of his contemporary and school-fellow, Edward Rudd, "made a short, arch speech."

Spencer Cowper was the son of Sir William Cowper. His brother, who became Lord Chancellor, was educated at Westminster. Nothing is known of the younger brother's school-days, and he does not appear to have gone to the

¹ *The Loyal Protestant and True Domestic Intelligencer.*

University. He was in turn Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales, Chief Justice of Chester, and Judge of the Court of Common Pleas, a post which he did not live to enjoy for more than a year. The story of his successful acquittal of a charge of murder is eloquently told in the pages of Macaulay's *History*.

Another of Gale's pupils who, like Lloyd, became head of a House at Cambridge, and whose name is next to his in the school registers, was William Grigg, who, after holding a fellowship at Jesus, became Master of Clare, a post which he retained for thirteen years.

No less than 115 of Gale's pupils are known to have gone either to Oxford or Cambridge, of whom, owing to the terms under which the Camden Exhibitions were held, it is not surprising to find that ninety-four were Cambridge men. Of these seventeen are known to have become Fellows, while four of his Oxford pupils attained to the same distinction.

Anthony Hammond, the son of a Huntingdonshire gentleman, went up from St. Paul's to St. John's College, Cambridge, as a fellow-commoner in 1685. Ten years later he was chosen Knight of the Shire for Huntingdon, and in 1698 was returned to Parliament for the University of Cambridge. Macaulay states in his *History* that he was "sent to Parliament by the High Churchmen of the University," and describes how he was found at supper at the "Blue Posts" with the French ambassador shortly after Louis XIV has acknowledged the Old Pretender as King of England. This circumstance cost him his seat, in which he was succeeded by Isaac Newton in 1701. He became a Commissioner of the Navy and re-entered Parliament, first for Huntingdonshire, and then for Shoreham, but in 1708 the House resolved that his office disqualified him from sitting. In 1711 he became Treasurer of the

British forces in Spain, but later, when his affairs became hopelessly involved, he retired to the Fleet Prison, where he remained for nearly twenty years, occupying himself with literary pursuits as a poet and pamphleteer. He was a man of wit whom Lord Chesterfield described as having all the senses but common sense, but Bolingbroke spoke of him as "silver tongued Hammond." In a *New Miscellany of Original Poems*, which he published in 1720, he claimed as his own certain poems "which had been ascribed to others to their prejudice." He married Jane, the sister of Sir Thomas and Robert Clarges, who were also Old Paulines, and died in 1738.

Two Old Paulines who were fellow-commoners of St. John's College, Cambridge, a few years before Anthony Hammond, were Sir Edmund D'Oyley, a Norfolk baronet, and Edward Maunsell, the son of a Welsh gentleman, who became Sheriff of Carmarthenshire in 1689 and was created baronet seven years later.

Charles Lee, who is said to have entered Trinity College, Oxford, from St. Paul's School, joined the Catholic Church, and after studying at Douai entered the Carthusian Monastery of Sheen Anglorum, at Nieuport, of which he became Prior in 1729.

The statement of that divine who, at the end of the seventeenth century, exclaimed, "Thank God, I am a bishop although I am not a Westminster," might have been echoed by only two Paulines educated under Gale. The first of these, John Leng, was a Yorkshireman. From St. Paul's he went to St. Catherine's Hall, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship. He became Chaplain in Ordinary to George I, and was consecrated Bishop of Norwich in 1723. He was said to have been "a good and learned man, who earned in his diocese the reputation of a man of modesty and diligence, than whom no one could show

more true humility in his station." He was buried in St. Margaret's, Westminster, where there is a mural tablet in the chancel to his memory.

Edward Tenison, the nephew of the Archbishop of Canterbury and of Sir Thomas Browne, the author of *Religio Medici*, went up to Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. He became a Canon of Canterbury and chaplain to the Duke of Dorset, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, who appointed him Bishop of Ossory. The terms of a legacy which he bequeathed to his old college were so onerous that one half of it was refused.

Edward Stillingfleet, who came of another episcopal family, offended his father, the Bishop of Worcester, by his Jacobite views. He became a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, F.R.S., and Gresham Professor of Physic. Samuel Knight, the son of a Dissenting freeman of the Mercers' Company, lived to become a Prebendary of Ely. He is best known for his lives of Colet and Erasmus, which were translated into German within ten years of the date of their publication, and for which he made use of the material collected by the research of White Kennet, Bishop of Peterborough. He was one of the founders of the Society of Antiquaries.

Samuel Rosewell, who was also the son of a Dissenter, is said to have graduated at a Scottish university. He wrote an account of his father's celebrated trial before Chief Justice Jeffreys, and was well known as a Presbyterian preacher.

Robert Paltock, whose name as a Pauline has been preserved owing to the fact that he was steward of the feast in 1699, was an attorney of Clement's Inn, whose fame has been said to rest enduringly on his original and fascinating romance entitled *The Life and Adventures of Peter Wilkins, a Cornishman*, a novel which earned the unstinted admiration of Coleridge, Southey, Walter Scott, and Lamb.



Sir G. Kneller pinx.]

[J. Faber sc. 1734.

SPENCER COMPTON, FIRST EARL OF WILMINGTON, K.G.

[To face p. 258.

Two of Gale's pupils, both of whom were Commissioners of Customs, became Lord Mayors of London, Sir Charles Peers in 1716 and Sir Robert Baylis in 1728.

Of the noblemen's sons educated by Gale the most distinguished was Hon. Spencer Compton, the third son of the Earl of Northampton. It is not known where his brothers were educated, possibly they, too, were at St. Paul's, for the fact that his mother was the daughter of Baptist, third Viscount Campden, shows that a family connection may have been responsible for his education at St. Paul's. Spencer Compton deserted the Tory principles of his family and entered Parliament in 1695. He was chairman of the committee for settling the Act of Union with Scotland. He was one of the Managers in Dr. Sacheverel's impeachment in 1709, and became Speaker of the House of Commons in 1714, a post for which he was well fitted, as he was described by some one as "the most formal, solemn man in the world." He was made Knight of the Bath on the revival of the Order in 1725. George II, at his accession, wished him to be his chief minister, but Compton, who was created Baron Wilmington, became Lord Privy Seal, and later Lord President of the Council in Walpole's administration. In 1730 he was created Earl of Wilmington and three years later Knight of the Garter. That he was not a man of first-class ability is seen in a contemporary squib—

"Let Wilmington with grave contracted brow
Red tape and wisdom at the Council show
Sleep in the Senate, in the Council bow."

Early in 1742 he became First Lord of the Treasury, with Pulteney and Carteret as his Secretaries of State, but Wilmington, though nominally Prime Minister, was overshadowed by his colleagues. A lampoon of the time thus describes him—

“See yon old dull important Lord
 Who at the longed for money board
 Sits first, but does not lead ;
 His younger brethren all things make
 So that the Treasury's like a snake
 And the tail moves the head.”

Wilmington, who died in 1743, was not without a sense of humour in spite of the suggestions of his critics. It was he who said concerning the nervously restless Duke of Newcastle, that he always lost half-an-hour every morning, which he spent the rest of the day in an endeavour to overtake.

Gale dedicated to Spencer Compton his *Opuscula*, as James Thomson dedicated to him *Winter*. Samuel Knight, in dedicating to him his *Life of Colet*, speaks of his “known affection to St. Paul's School,” and it is known that in 1708 he was steward of the feast and benefactor to the library.

James Stanley was the second son of the eighth Earl of Derby. He served in Flanders under William of Orange, became Groom of the Bedchamber and was colonel of a regiment of foot until 1702, when he succeeded his brother as tenth Earl. He became Lord Lieutenant of North Wales, and later Vice-Admiral and Lord Lieutenant of Lancashire. In 1707 he became Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster and in 1715 Captain of Yeomen of the Guard. He died in 1736 without surviving issue.

In the course of Christopher Hussey's Apposition speech in 1702 occurs the following sentence, “*Manestrius noster quam in hoc loco a Cicerone ipso acceperat eloquentiam, Italis jam diu incognitam in Italiam denuo reportavit.*” The reference here is to Charles Montagu, the son of the Earl of Manchester, a Gentleman of the Bedchamber to Charles II. Charles Montagu's two elder brothers, Henry and Edward, who possibly were at St. Paul's, having died young, he was known at school by the courtesy title of Viscount Mandeville. He succeeded his father as fourth



Sir G. Kneller pinx.]

[*J. Faber sc. 1732.*

CHARLES MONTAGU, FIRST DUKE OF MANCHESTER

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Earl of Manchester in 1682. In disgust at the revival of arbitrary rule he allied himself with the Prince of Orange, under whom he served at the Battle of the Boyne and the siege of Limerick. He acted as Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard for some years, a short time before his school-fellow, the Earl of Derby, held that post. He was sent as Ambassador Extraordinary to the King of France, twice to the Republic of Venice, and again, to the Court of Vienna. He was Secretary of State for the Northern Department at the close of King William's reign, and became a Lord of the Bedchamber to George I, who created him Duke of Manchester. As a public man he was of the highest integrity, but was more painstaking than brilliant.

Charles Boyle, the son of the Earl of Orrery and nephew of Robert Boyle, the great physicist, went up from St. Paul's to Christ Church as a nobleman in 1690. While at Oxford he was involved in the celebrated literary controversy immortalized by Swift's *Battle of the Books*. Sir William Temple had made some rash statements concerning the antiquity of the *Letters of Phalaris*, which were attacked by a pupil of Richard Bentley. To cover Temple's defeat, the wits and scholars of Christ Church decided to publish a new edition of the Epistles, and the work was entrusted to Boyle, who, while not asserting that they were genuine, attacked Bentley for his rudeness in having withdrawn too abruptly a MS. belonging to the King's library which Boyle had borrowed. Bentley retaliated, Boyle, with the aid of Atterbury and Smallridge, published a rejoinder, and Bentley, returning to the charge, overwhelmed his opponents with the wealth of his scholarship, but, in spite of this, Garth complimented the Oxford man at the expense of his more distinguished adversary at Cambridge.

"So diamonds take a lustre from their foil,
And to a Bentley 'tis we owe a Boyle."

Boyle, who succeeded his brother as fourth Earl in 1703, fought as a major-general at Malplaquet six years later. As Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the Low Countries he took part in the negotiations which led up to the Treaty of Utrecht. He acted with his school-fellow, the Duke of Manchester, as Lord of the Bedchamber to George I, by whom the Order of the Thistle was conferred upon him. He was steward of the school feast in 1710-11. The astronomical instrument called the Orrery was named after him by its inventor, James Graham.

According to a near relative of Edmund Halley, who wrote in the *Biographica Britannica* in 1757, the astronomer, when at St. Paul's, "in a short time outstripped the rest of the boys, and became Captain of the School at the age of fifteen. He not only excelled in every branch of Classical learning, but was particularly taken notice of for the extraordinary advance he made at the same time in 'the Mathematicks,' insomuch that he seems not only to have acquired almost a masterly skill in both 'plain' and spherical Trigonometry, but to be well acquainted with the science of Navigation." From this explicit statement it appears certain that Halley was taught mathematics at St. Paul's. We know that the son of the Earl of Cork was taught mathematics at Eton in 1635, and that Busby introduced arithmetic and geometry into Westminster, while Charles II founded a mathematical school at Christ's Hospital.

Pepys, who left St. Paul's less than thirty years before Halley, when he was on the Tangier Commission, the accounts of which were in disorder, made it his first business to employ a mathematical tutor, who taught him the multiplication table, but it may well be that Gale's close connection with the scientific members of the Royal Society, and the fact that a mathematician so distinguished as Edward Cocker was a writing-master in the school, led to the introduction



Charles Boyle Earl of Orrery,
*Baron Boyle of Marston in England,
& Baron Broughill in Ireland, and
One of the Knights of the Most
Antient Order of the Thistle.*

Baron Sc.

of a branch of study which was not taught in a regular manner at St. Paul's until nearly a hundred and forty years after Gale's death.

Although Halley was captain of the school for two years, he proceeded to Oxford without an exhibition, and this fact, taken together with the wealth which he enjoyed, makes it very improbable that he was a free scholar at the school. He left Oxford without a degree, in order that he might sail to the Southern hemisphere to take astronomical observations. On his return he was admitted M.A. of Oxford by Royal mandate. In 1703 he became Savilian Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and by his calculations predicted the appearance of the comet which bears his name, and which was first seen nearly thirty years after his death. He became Astronomer-Royal in 1713, and in the same year produced at his own expense the *Principia* of Newton, his lifelong friend, to which he prefixed a copy of Latin verses which begin—

“Non fas est propius mortali attingere divos.”

Halley retained throughout his life an intimacy with his school-fellow, Robert Nelson, who was more than once his companion in continental travel. He died in 1742.

A contemporary of Thomas Gale wrote, after his death, “the loss of this great man would have been irreparable did not the father's genius still subsist in the son.” Reference is here made to Roger Gale, who was elected Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, in the last of the eight years during which he held a Campden Exhibition, who was, like his father, a Fellow of the Royal Society, was elected President of that body, was Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries, and was one of its first vice-presidents. He was returned four times as M.P. for Northallerton, and was Commissioner of Stamps and of Excise. His younger brother, Samuel, the

godchild of Pepys, was treasurer of the Society of Antiquaries; while the third brother, Charles, held the living of Scruton.

During the high mastership of Gale there came into being fresh records of the state of the school, which provide intermittent information concerning St. Paul's and its scholars, for the space of three-quarters of a century.

According to Samuel Knight, "the first General Meeting or Feast of the Scholars was held on St. Paul's Day (January 25), 1660, or the year following." It was celebrated annually on that date for four or five years, but no record has been preserved as to what form the proceedings took. We have evidence, however, in a scarce sermon, of the revival of the feast shortly after Gale's election,¹ in 1674. The document bears on its title-page the inscription, "A Sermon preached on the 27th of January, 1673/4, before several Persons who formerly have had their education in St. Paul's School London. By R. P. a member of that Society." The preface to the sermon is dated Horton, but this affords no clue to the identity of the preacher, and the only Pauline bearing the initials R. P., whose dates make it possible that he was the author of the sermon, is one, Richard Pye, a pupil of the younger Gill, who was elected a Campden Exhibitioner of Trinity, Cambridge, in 1635, and of whom nothing else is known.

The place at which the sermon of 1674 was preached is not known, but that of the following year was preached by Richard Meggott in St. Michael's, Cornhill. The preacher, addressing his congregation as "brethren, and companions of my earliest years," urges them to "gratitude to the place of your education, that flourishing happy *School* where the day first dawned, and began to break in upon you."

Meggott, who must have entered the school soon after

¹ A copy is in the Guildhall Library.

the troubles caused by the younger Gill, makes a passing reference to the effect of his rule, when he says that "the falling into unskilful Hands here, experience showeth, is e'ne as hard to be overcome and corrected afterwards as in the first Concoction." He speaks of "a Library furnished with the choicest books of Philological learning burned by the late dreadful Fire, which is not yet recruited," and further pleads that "there are several poor children there (above the number that foundation alloweth anything in the University to) who with your encouragement may be one day Ornaments to the Nation, for whom I must exhort you *per spem crescentis Iuli*."

Benjamin Calamy preached at the feast, probably in the following year, a sermon to which reference has already been made, and in 1678 William Wyat preached at the Guildhall Chapel.

After this the school feast fell into abeyance until it was revived by Postlethwayt twenty years later, when William Nicholls, a pupil of Gale, expressed his sentiments towards his former high master by saying, "to be under a good Schoolmaster is a lasting Blessing as long as we live," and the same preacher went on to say, "Great Publick Schools where Grammaticall Learning is in its highest Perfection, can never enough be esteemed and encouraged, and the Masters honoured and revered by their scholars." Matthew Postlethwayt, who preached in 1714, in the dedication of his sermon to the Mercers' Company, declares that "Dr. Gale had raised the credit of that School in the world to a very considerable height."

Among the MSS. of Thomas Gale in the library of Trinity, Cambridge, is one entitled "The constant Method of Teaching in St. Paul's School London," which is in fact nothing more than a time-table for each of the eight forms of the school. The most important of the items in that part

of the scheme which applies to the whole school is the first entry, "A Chapter in the Bible and set prayers in Latine every morning at 7 of the clock."

In the Eighth, every morning of the week was devoted to "A part in the Hebrew Psalter or Grammar," while in the afternoons Homer, Demosthenes, Persius and Juvenal were read, "moral themes or declamations" being composed on three afternoons of the week, and "a Divine theme" on Saturdays. The two next forms were under the same rules as regards themes, but the mornings in the Seventh were spent in reading "a part in the Minor Poets or Greek Grammar," and the afternoons were devoted to Horace, Apollodorus and Tulley's *Select Orations*. In the Sixth, Greek grammar occupied every morning, but apart from the Greek Testament, to which one afternoon a week was devoted, the only books read were Martial and Virgil. In the Fifth, as much time was devoted to Latin as to Greek grammar; the authors read were Virgil, Martial and Sallust, and the place of the themes of the upper forms, which appear to have been set as "home-work," was taken by Psalms, which had to be turned into Latin verse. No Greek was done in the four lowest forms, and in each of them every morning, save Friday, was occupied with Latin grammar, the morning of that day being devoted to "a Repetition of what hath been said ye whole weeke." In the Fourth, the *Metamorphosis* and *Epistles* of Ovid were read, and in the Third, the *Tristia*.

Another MS. in the Gale collection in the library of Trinity, Cambridge, is the earliest known catalogue of the school library. It is contained in a thin parchment-covered book, dated August 16, 1697. In consequence, it appears to have been made on the resignation of the high master, in whose collection it is to be found. At the end of the book is written, "all the Books mentioned in the foregoing

catalogue where (*sic*) in the study the Day and year above written." This statement is signed by two boys, the first of whom, Leonard Darant, was poor scholar from 1697-1699, a fact which bears out the suggestion already made in connection with Samuel Johnson that the poor scholar had charge of the library. The other signatory to the statement referred to was Richard Skikelthorp, who went up to Cambridge as an exhibitioner in the year named, and was probably one of the head boys in the school. The number of books named in the catalogue was four hundred and thirty-four, and these must have almost without exception been collected to replace those destroyed in the Great Fire during the high mastership of Gale.¹ It is probable, as we have already seen, that a certain number were saved, for there is no doubt to this day that the smell of fire has passed over a few books in the school library, notably a copy of Edward Grant's *Westminster Greek Grammar* of 1575. Several of the books mentioned in the catalogue have unfortunately disappeared, notably Caxton's *Chronicles*, and Wynkyn de Worde's edition of Colet's *Grammar* of 1534, the copy of which, given by Cromleholme to Samuel Pepys, is still in the Magdalene Library. Finally, the list contains a copy of the Paris folio of *Vegetius*, 1532, which was doubtless the book, the text or plates of which John Churchill used to study when a boy at St. Paul's. It is worthy of note that none of Milton's works were in the library at this date, though more than a quarter of a century had elapsed since the publication of *Paradise Lost*. Busby's library at Westminster contained a first edition of the Pauline poet.

¹ *Pauline*, vol. viii., No. 42, p. 129, June 1890.

CHAPTER XV

A GREAT ORIENTALIST

JOHN POSTLETHWAYT, HIGH MASTER 1697-1713

THE preferment of Thomas Gale to the Deanery of York necessitated an election to the high mastership thereby vacated in the early autumn of 1697. Owing to the preservation by Mr. Albert Hartshorne, F.S.A., of the papers of the Postlethwayt family, there is extant a more detailed account of the process of appointment of the high master in this instance than in any other during the first three centuries of the school history. It appears that among the candidates was Ayscough, who had for twelve years been surmaster under Gale. The names of the other applicants for the post, in addition to Postlethwayt himself, were Mountford, Barnes and Hoadly. Of these, Ayscough was summarily ruled out of the contest as having already been convicted of negligence in the discharge of his duties as surmaster. The objection raised to Mountford was that he had only had experience in a private school, and not in a public school of the importance of St. Paul's, and that even there he had obtained a reputation for tyrannical conduct. As to Joshua Barnes, who had been for two years Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge, it was urged that, whatever his University reputation might be, he had had no scholastic experience whatever; and in the case of Samuel Hoadly it was objected that he was a Scotsman to begin with, while there was this further objection to his appointment that he had a large family, not only of four sons, for whose advancement he would be likely to sacrifice the interests of

the school, but also of daughters, the presence of whom would not conduce to the success of the high master's boarding-house. Three years later he became head master of Norwich School, and of his sons, Benjamin became Bishop of Winchester and John, Archbishop of Armagh.

Against these were pitted the claims of John Postlethwayt, who was a man nearly forty-seven years of age, who came of a family of "statesmen" who had long been settled at Millom in Cumberland, and who, after having been educated at the grammar school at Whicham,¹ went up to Merton College, Oxford, where he graduated in 1674, and proceeded to his M.A. degree in due course four years later. In 1680, Dr. Tenison, having become rector of the church of St. Martin in the Fields, founded the grammar school which still bears his name, situated, as it is to-day, in the house in Leicester Square in which Hogarth died. Tenison appointed Postlethwayt the first head master of this school, and here he remained until his election to succeed Thomas Gale. Of his success at Tenison's school, the best evidence is to be found in the testimonial which he presented on his application for the high mastership of St. Paul's, which was written for him by his patron, Tenison, who by that time had been for several years Archbishop of Canterbury—

"I have known Mr. Postlethwayt nigh twenty years," he wrote. "He hath been long the upper schoolmaster at St. Martin's. I have never known him wilfully absent for two hours on any day in Schoolltime. He is a man of great abilities in learning, and particularly in that which relates to Grammar, in the knowledge of the Hebrew, Greek, and Latin tongues. He is of very even temper, and one who studieth the Temper and Genius of Youth. His scholars are in awe of him by Reason of his grave Deportment and good Discipline, but he doth not terrify them with Severity. And I do believe, for Instance Sake, that there are few in the

¹ Carlisle, *End. Grammar Schools*, i. p. 199.

Nation equal for their time to Wallis of Magdalen College, Oxford, and Mr. Fawcet of Bene't College in Cambridge, late his scholars. He is very careful of the Religion and Manners of those under his care, and taketh pains with divers of them every Lord's Day before Church-time. His Conversation is serious and discreet, and hath nothing of Pedantry in it. I have said very much of him, and yet cannot do him justice in saying less.¹

“THO. CANTUAR.”

In addition to this certificate as to his great abilities, Postlethwayt's application was supported by his college at Oxford, and also—for some reason—by Bene't College at Cambridge, while additional testimonials were presented by him from Hough, Bishop of Oxford; Patrick, Bishop of Ely; Moore, afterwards Bishop of Norwich; Richard Bentley, who was afterwards the celebrated Master of Trinity; Wake, who was destined to become Archbishop of Canterbury; Hody, who was Regius Professor of Greek at Oxford; Knipe, head master of Westminster; Lancaster, who was Vicar of St. Martin's in the Field, and who soon after became Provost of Queen's College, Oxford; and last, but not least, John Evelyn the Diarist.

With a body of recommendations such as this, coming from all the most distinguished scholars of his day, it would give cause for surprise if Postlethwayt had not been elected, and as a matter of fact he was appointed to fill the vacant post on September 3, 1697. It would be interesting to know the meaning of a remark in a letter from John Wallis, one of Postlethwayt's old pupils at Oxford, in which the writer, after congratulating the newly elected high master, goes on to say, “*plus valerit sola virtus tua quam clandestinae ac fraudulentæ aliorum artes.*”

In the year following Postlethwayt's appointment, it was

¹ Strype's *Stow*, i. 168.

resolved by the Court of the Mercers' Company that three years' education in St. Paul's should be required to qualify candidates to petition for exhibitions, "in consequence of boys being put into the school for six or twelve months to obtain them," and it has been suggested that the reason for this resolution is to be found in a transfer by Postlethwayt of some of his pupils from Archbishop Tenison's school to St. Paul's, on his appointment to his new position.

Among the papers in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne is another describing the condition of the school under Dr. Gale, with the obvious suggestion that Postlethwayt was the only man fit to succeed him: "In 1697 St. Paul's School was the chiefest nursery in the City for learning and manners," and the excellences of the school are thus set out in tabular form—

Present state of St. Paul's School, with its fame and reput- ation.	}	{ Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Poetry, Oratory,	{ are taught as at	{ Westminster, Eton, Winchester,	{ the chiefest schools in England.
Present High Master, Dr. Gale	{	is eminent for	{ Learning in all these tongues, morals, prudence, and good govern- ment; large acquain- tance with the best quality in the king- dom. Correspondence with the most learn- ed abroad in		
			{ Many scholars consid- erable in all facult- ies in		{ France, Italy, Germany, Holland, &c. Both Univer- sities, The Church, The Law, Both Houses of Parliament Other stations in { City Court Country.

In 1699-1700 a clock was put up at the school, and the "dyall" was gilded and painted, and two years later the school, which had only been standing for thirty-two years, was repaired and beautified, as appeared from an inscription which stood over the door of the "*Aedes Praeceptoris Grammatices*," but the surveyor-accountant, one Thomas Raymond, was reprimanded by the auditors for having spent so much money, and it was resolved that in future not more than £100 was to be spent by the surveyor-accountant during his year of office "without first applying to and having the order of the court for the doing thereof."

At a meeting of the Court of Assistants of Mercers "for St. Paul's School affairs," held on March 20, 1706, it was ordered "That for the future no Fee or Quarteridge be taken from any Scholar that shall be presented by the Surveyor of St. Paul's School for the time being Or any other Schollar in that School, except One Shilling to the Porter of the School. And that this Order be read every Apposition."

It is difficult to know what is meant by this order. Twenty years before, as we have seen, Gale and his assistants were warned against receiving gratuities. The Mercers at this time were plunged in great financial difficulties, and had endeavoured to recoup themselves for their losses by making inroads amounting to £13,000 on the income of the Coletine trust. The number of boys of good position was as marked in Postlethwayt's time as in Gale's. Among his pupils were sons of the Earl of Forfar, the Earl of Montrath and the Earl of Lichfield, of Samuel Bradford, Bishop of Rochester; Robert Price, Baron of the Exchequer; Sir Thomas Rawlinson, Lord Mayor of London; and Sir Richard Levinge, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons. It is not likely that the sons of any one of these, or that even the nephew of Richard Bentley, who also was among his pupils, needed to enjoy the benefit of a free education on Colet's foundation.

In 1712 the Mercers ordered that presentations to the school should be made in the name of the surveyor-accountant. These the high master was ordered to file, and at the same time he was obliged to enter the names of the boys in a book. These facts, read in conjunction with the number of boarders Postlethwayt is known to have had in his house, seem to indicate that the Company of Mercers were determined, in order to retrieve their shattered fortunes, to secure for their exchequer the fees paid by those boys in excess of the hundred and fifty and three, of whom there is little doubt a number were being admitted into the school during the high mastership of Postlethwayt.

From the family papers it appears that sixteen boarders attended Postlethwayt's funeral, and from an inventory made after the death of the high master, who, it must be remembered, was a confirmed bachelor, we can gather that besides fifty pairs of sheets and nineteen pillow-covers, there were sixteen beds of various kinds in the school-house, exclusive of those of the maids.

The enthusiasm of Postlethwayt for Oriental studies caused him to add Arabic to the curriculum at St. Paul's, which already included Hebrew. The Hartshorne MSS. show that it was through the high master's efforts that Archbishop Tenison used his influence with William III to secure the foundation of Arabic studentships—now the Lord Almoner's Professorships—at Oxford and Cambridge, with a view specially to send out competent Oriental scholars to the embassies in the Levant. The first holders of these studentships, John Wallis and Benjamin Marshall, who, by a document under the Privy Seal, received each £40 a year "as persons who have a genius for languages," were both pupils of Postlethwayt, the former at Tenison's school, the latter at St. Paul's. Benjamin Marshall became domestic chaplain to William Lloyd of Worcester, the most popular of the "Seven Bishops," and Canon of Lichfield, and his

correspondence with the high master, extending over many years, has been preserved. In Mark Anthony Corbière, Postlethwayt educated a still more distinguished Orientalist. While still a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, he was attached to the embassy at Lisbon, and on account of his knowledge of Arabic he was sent in 1709 as ambassador to the Emperor of Morocco, carrying gifts from Queen Anne. Of this expedition, on which he went convoyed by three men-of-war, he wrote an account to Postlethwayt, setting out in detail the extraordinary honour with which he was received by the potentate.¹

According to a contemporary account, the scholastic exertions of Postlethwayt on behalf of his pupils, more particularly those who boarded in his house, "was something more than what was consistent either with their health or his own." It is recorded in his epitaph that when his strength failed to such an extent as to prevent him coming down into the school, he taught the boys in his sick-room. He is said to have intended to have written the life of Dean Colet as a token of his gratitude, but his death, which occurred on September 26, 1713, prevented this intention from being carried into effect. By his will he left the rectory of Denton in Norfolk, which he had purchased from the Duke of Norfolk, to Merton College.

In the accounts for Postlethwayt's funeral are items which give some notion of the late high master's prestige.² Hangings for the rooms, silver sconces, black sconces, escutcheons of the Postlethwayt arms on silk for the pall, the same on buckram, verged, and eight dozen on paper, given away at the funeral, large entries for crape hatbands and scarves, fifty pairs of gloves, mutes with black and white staves, forty men in black carrying branch candlesticks,

¹ *Pauline*, vol. xxiv., June 1906, No. 153.

² Hartshorne, *Memoirs of a Royal Chaplain*, p. 11.

by the light of which the high master's funeral took place ; "four sweepers with brooms, and Rosemary in Plate," this last a relic of the plague, no doubt ; all are comprised in the funeral pomp, a copy of the invitation to which is in the school library, and is a ghastly paper with a deep border of skeletons, skulls and crossbones, and hour-glasses, having an open coffin with a shrouded corpse within it as the centre-piece. Sixteen boarders, wearing black gloves with white cuffs, walked in the long funeral procession to the church. The pall-bearers included the head masters of Charterhouse, Merchant Taylors' and Christ's Hospital, and the late high master's colleagues at St. Paul's.

The funeral took place at the Church of St. Augustine, Old Change, Dr. Hancock being the preacher. His sermon was subsequently published under the title of *The Christian Schoolmaster*, and in it reference is made to the late high master's "incessant, almost unparalleled labours to the very last." After referring to his mastership at Tenison's school, Postlethwayt's epitaph goes on to say—

"Inde evocatus scholae Paulinae,
Per sedecim annos praefuit ;
Latinae linguae ad optimorum scriptorum normam
Praeceptor accuratissimus ;
Graecae et Orientalium plerarumque
Tam peritus, quam fautor singularis ;
Neque in bonis ullius generis literis hospes ;
Puerorum ingenia nemo sagacius exploravit,
Felicis direxit,
Aut studiosius promovit ;
Id quod testantur ipsius olim discipuli,
Nunc academiæ, ecclesiae et reipublicae
Ornamenta summa."

Samuel Knight in the same strain declares that "at St. Paul's School he remitted nothing of his wonted diligence, and from thence also he sent forth very excellent scholars who have since made a figure in several stations in life."

An affectionate letter addressed by Richard Bentley to the high master, which is extant, in which the Master of Trinity gave directions for the education of his nephew at St. Paul's, shows in what high esteem Postlethwayt was held by the greatest English scholar of the day.¹

Immediately after his election to the high mastership in 1697 Postlethwayt took care that the school feast, which had been in abeyance for nearly twenty years, should be revived. The occasion is memorable as being the first recorded meeting held in St. Paul's Cathedral, and William Nicholls, the preacher, in "A Sermon preached before the gentlemen educated in St. Paul's School upon the reviving their Ancient Anniversary Meeting," speaks of "renewing this Antient Love Feast, upon the first anniversary of this blessed Saint after the rebuilding of his Temple . . . where we remember to have played our childish pastimes among its desolate ruins," a reference to the fact that while the school, according to the inscription, was "*feliciter restaurata post incendium*," in 1670, the first stone of Wren's cathedral was not laid until the year 1675.

The preacher, who declares that all Paulines must "thank Almighty God for our ingenuous education in that school," addresses his congregation as "my Christian Brethren, you my Dearest Companions of my tender years, you, with whom I had the happiness to lay the Foundation of my Studies in the neighbouring Schoole, where we have gained the advantage of such an Education, as has improved our Minds beyond the generality of those who have unhappily been destitute of the like Noble Assistances."

The preacher in the following year, John Pulleyn, a prebendary of St. Paul's, whose name appears next to that of the Duke of Marlborough in the school registers, made an appeal "for offerings to be placed with the stewards,"

¹ Diary of Edward Rud.

and urged his congregation "to promote and advance the honour of the School and to offer up Thanksgiving for all those excellent Advantages which we, by God's goodness, have obtained from a Free and Ingenuous Education at our School." The sermon preached by Samuel Bradford, in 1699-1700, although of no particular interest in itself, deserves to be mentioned because in its printed form it is the first of the series containing lists of the stewards of the feast, from which the names of no less than one hundred and eighty scholars of St. Paul's School have been rescued from oblivion.

An interesting gift to the school dating from Postlethwayt's high mastership is to be found in four large folio volumes in the library entitled *The English Atlas*, published at Oxford in 1680 and the three succeeding years, each of which bears the inscription "September 12, 1711, Governor Yale gave this and the other three volumes, to be kept in the Master's House for the use of his boarders, and desired that some part of this work should be read by them twice at least every week." Elihu Yale, the donor of these books, was the benefactor of the great college in Connecticut which was named after him on its removal to his birthplace, New Haven. He was brought over to England to be educated in 1658 and was left here for some years. The place of his education is unknown, but his benefaction to the library of St. Paul's suggests that he may have been a Pauline, a surmise which it would be interesting to have verified.

Another book of this date which is preserved in the school library is a richly bound copy of Edward Tenison's sermon at the anniversary school feast preached in the cathedral in 1710-11. This volume is said to have formerly belonged to Queen Caroline, the wife of George II, to whom, no doubt, it was presented by the preacher. The sermon is chiefly remarkable from its reference to

Marlborough as "that great man, who never besieged a town which he did not take, nor fought a battle he did not gain," and to the honour conferred by him on "the foundation of the beneficent Colet." From the fact that among the stewards occur the names of distinguished Old Paulines such as the Earl of Orrery, Lord Wandell, Hon. Algernon Coote and Sir Robert Clarges, we may presume that special stress was laid on the celebration in view of the second centenary which had just been passed.

In the history of most public schools, as in that of the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the decay which became so evident in the middle of the eighteenth century had begun to make itself felt even at the date when it was still news that Queen Anne was dead. At St. Paul's this was not so, thanks to the worthy manner in which Postlethwayt filled the high master's chair in succession to his three great predecessors, Langley, Cromleholme and Gale.

Apart from the school feast of which we have spoken there is no known record of any celebrations at St. Paul's in connection with the second centenary of the foundation of the school. If the anniversary had been kept as it deserved there is little doubt that no school in the country, not even Eton itself, could have pointed to so many of its alumni holding distinguished positions in Church and State as did St. Paul's during the second decade of the eighteenth century.

John Churchill, Duke of Marlborough, won the battle of Malplaquet in the year of the second centenary of his old school. At the same time Charles Montagu, Earl of Manchester, was Ambassador at the Court of Vienna, and Charles Boyle, Earl of Orrery, was Envoy Extraordinary to the States-general of the United Provinces. James Stanley, Earl of Derby, was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, and a few years later Lord Wandell, who by that time had

succeeded to the title of Earl of Forfar, was sent as Envoy Extraordinary to the Court of Prussia.

There were four Old Paulines on the episcopal bench in the first twenty-five years of the new century. Richard Cumberland was Bishop of Peterborough ; George Hooper, of Bath and Wells ; John Leng, of Norwich ; and Samuel Bradford, of Carlisle. The last held also the Mastership of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, and five other headships of Houses in Oxford and Cambridge were held by Paulines in the first fifteen years of the eighteenth century. Humfrey Gower was Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, simultaneously with John Balderstone, Master of Emmanuel ; Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, of Trinity Hall ; and William Wyatt, Principal of St. Mary's Hall at Oxford ; while in 1713, two years after Gower's death, another Old Pauline, William Grigg, became Master of Clare. In the legal world Paulines were equally conspicuous. When Sir Edward Northey was Attorney-General, an Old Pauline, Sir John Trevor, was Master of the Rolls, and Spencer Cowper, a future Judge of the Common Pleas, held the post of Attorney-General to the Prince of Wales. St. Paul's was further represented in the House of Commons, over which its alumnus, the Hon. Spencer Compton, presided as Speaker, by George Doddington, a Lord of the Admiralty ; Anthony Hammond and Roger Gale, the last of whom, as Fellow of the Royal Society, was a contemporary and colleague of men of science so distinguished as Edmund Halley, the Astronomer-Royal ; Edward Stillingfleet, Gresham Professor of Physic, and Robert Nelson. Among other Paulines of distinction without whose names this list would be incomplete are John Strype, the antiquary ; Sir Charles Peers, Lord Mayor of London in 1716 ; Sir Edmund D'Oyley, and Sir William Bernard.

One interesting relic of the last year of Postlethwayt's

high mastership is to be found in a duodecimo volume in the school library entitled *The Works of Mr. Henry Needler : consisting of occasional Poems, Translations, Essays, and Letters*, included among which occurs "A prologue to Julius Caesar spoken at St. Paul's School, January 27, 1712." It runs—

"Should *Shakespeare's* Ghost return again to light
And see us play his *Caesar* here To-night
How would he smile to view our mimic Rage
And little heroes strut upon the stage
To see in Miniature his lofty Scenes
Acted by beardless Statesmen in their Teens.

Impelled by This what dauntless Souls can dare
Let matchless *Marlb'rough's* mighty deeds declare
Great *Marlborough!* in whose accomplished Mind
All *Caesar* but his vices we may find :
Who in a juster Cause and not his own,
Has *Caesar's* conduct and his courage shown."

Henry Needler, the author of this prologue, was not a Pauline, but was educated at Reigate School. At this date he was a clerk in the Navy Office, and from the fact that at the date of his death in 1718 he was aged twenty-eight, it appears that at the time of writing these lines he must have been only twenty-two years of age.

No reason can be assigned for the fact that the play was acted on January 27, since the Apposition at that time was held in March, unless, indeed, it was presented at the school feast. In connection with the eulogistic references to Marlborough it is significant that his greatness was recalled in his school although he was at this time in disgrace, deprived of all his offices, bitterly attacked by the party in power, and driven to take refuge on the Continent.

The school library possesses a copy of a broadside which must have been written by one of Postlethwayt's pupils. It bears the date, "London.—Printed by W. R., and to be sold by G. Playford, at the Temple Change, in

Fleet Street, 1702." It is entitled *An Ode to St. Paul, by one formerly of St. Paul's School*. In the last of five verses the author prays the apostle—

"Transmit thy Rules, Send down the Master Scheme,
We'll get our parts, and Paul shall be our Theme,
And when from hence we bear thy Name
To sing thy Praise on Isis Banks or Cam ;
From Thee we'll Learn as Genius shall incline
To be Physitian, Lawyer, or Divine."

Among the Postlethwayt papers is an anonymous letter addressed to the high master, which runs—

"Honoured Sir, These three little books were some time since taken out of your School library. The person concerned is heartily sorry for the fact, and desirous to make restitution ; he now returns them and desires you, Sir, to lay out the half-guinea which you will find in a paper in the Appolodorus for the benefit of the library as you think best : he begs your prayers to God for his pardon, and that you will make no enquiry after him."

The first name on the registers under Gale is that of Edmund Halley. One of the first of the pupils of his successor is that of a man of science, whose distinctions, had he lived beyond the short term of thirty-four years, might have eclipsed even those of Queen Anne's Astronomer-Royal. Roger Cotes was the son of a Leicestershire clergyman, who proceeded from St. Paul's, from which he kept up a scientific correspondence with his uncle, to Trinity, Cambridge, where he obtained a fellowship in due course, the beauty of his person and his attractive manners, we are told, endearing him to all. He was elected the first Plumian Professor of Experimental Philosophy at the age of twenty-five, and became Fellow of the Royal Society five years later. On his death, in 1716, he was buried in the chapel of Trinity. Bentley, at that time master, wrote his epitaph, which runs, "Post magnum illum Newtonum Societatis hujus spes,

altera et decus gemellum," and the great Sir Isaac himself, whose *Principia* Cotes had edited, declared that "had Cotes lived we should have known something."

Another distinguished pupil of Postlethwayt, who, like Cotes, became a Fellow of the Royal Society, was Richard Rawlinson, the fourth son of Sir Thomas Rawlinson. It is not known whether any of his brothers were Paulines. Richard was also at Eton, but the fact that he went up to Oxford a year after leaving St. Paul's, where he spent several years, makes the claims of Eton relatively slight. He was a well-known antiquarian, a staunch Jacobite, and was consecrated a bishop among the Nonjurors by Bishops Gaudy, Doughty and Blackbourne. He founded the Professorship of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford which bears his name. On his death he bequeathed nearly six thousand MSS. to the Bodleian, the largest donation the library has ever received, and left directions that his heart should be preserved in a marble urn in the chapel of St. John's College, where his Tory principles had been imbibed.

Next to the name of Roger Cotes in the school registers is that of Daniel Lock, who went up with him to Cambridge, and whose epitaph in the chapel of Trinity, written on his death, nearly forty years after that of Cotes, deserves quotation, as a touching instance of a long-remembered friendship. It runs—

Hic juxta cineres cari Cotesii
 Suos etiam requiescere voluit
 DANIEL LOCK, hujus Collegii A.M.
 Vir, qui si quis alius
 Architecturae, Sculpturae, Picturae, Musicae
 Omniumque bonarum artium amantissimus
 Nec pudet inventas vitam excoluisse per artes.
 Obiit 15 Janrii 1754 aet. 69.

The share which had been taken by Gale's pupils in contemporary scientific movements was maintained by

Paulines educated by his successor. Among his pupils who became Fellows of the Royal Society, in addition to the names of Roger Cotes and Richard Rawlinson, must be included that of Thomas Sclater Bacon, who was three times returned as Member of Parliament for Cambridgeshire. His recognition is due to his inclusion in the list of Old Pauline subscribers to Knight's *Life of Colet* in 1724. Another of Postlethwayt's pupils who sat in the same House of Commons as Sclater Bacon was Algernon Coote, the third son of the Earl of Montrath, who succeeded his brother in 1720, and having been a benefactor to the school library in 1706, was in 1710 one of the stewards of the school feast, together with another nobleman's son, Archibald Douglas, Lord Wandale, who three years later succeeded his father—a Lord of the Treasury—as Earl of Forfar. Lord Wandale received from Queen Anne, about 1704, a yearly pension of £200 to assist his education, and in the few years before his death became a colonel of the Buffs, was appointed Envoy Extraordinary to Prussia, and served as brigadier-general at Sheriffmuir. He died of wounds received in that battle.

Another distinguished soldier, Charles Levintz by name, who was at St. Paul's under Postlethwayt, was the second son of Sir Richard Levintz, Speaker of the Irish House of Commons, who had been twice Solicitor-General for Ireland, and who subsequently became Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas in that country.

It is not known if Sir Richard's eldest son, Richard, who succeeded him in the baronetcy and represented Blessington for many years in the Irish House of Commons, was at St. Paul's. It is very probable that this was the case, since evidence¹ has been recently found which proves that Charles, the second son, was sent from Ireland to St. Paul's. He

¹ *Life of Thom. Gent.*

son of a wealthy brewer at Chiswick, and became master of Bene't in 1724. The Hartshorne papers throw much light on his extraordinary character, which, after he "kissed hands," earned for him the title of "The Right Reverend Blunderer." He was a typical pluralist, and in addition to the mastership of his college, he held in turn the bishoprics of Llandaff, Chichester and Ely. He was a generous benefactor to his college.

Among the numerous pupils of Postlethwayt who proceeded to Bene't, "the College of Bishops" at Cambridge, Anthony Ashley Sykes deserves to be mentioned. His biographer¹ says that "he was educated in all grammar and classic learning, at St. Paul's School in London, under the celebrated Mr Postlthway, then master of that seminary." He became a well-known latitudinarian divine, and a controversialist of the school of Hoadly. It is said by his biographer that on leaving college he became an assistant master at St. Paul's, but of this there is no record. His only preferments were prebendal stalls at Salisbury and Winchester.

Alured Clarke, another Old Pauline who went to Bene't, where he became a Fellow, founded the first county hospital outside London, at Winchester, where he was a prebendary. He became Dean of Exeter, but did not live to see the fulfilment of his efforts to found a hospital in that city. He was known as "The Good Samaritan," and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Queen Caroline was sincerely attached to him, and but for his ill-health he would have been promoted to an episcopal See.

Samuel Kerrick, a fellow and tutor of Bene't, who married a niece of the high master, would also have been appointed to a bishopric if Walpole, from whom he expected preferment, had not died.

¹ Disney.

Charles Henry Lee, who has recently been identified as an Old Pauline, was the son of the Earl of Lichfield by Lady Charlotte Fitzroy, daughter of Charles II by Barbara Villiers. The Earl of Lichfield, who was Lord-Lieutenant of Oxfordshire, retired from public life on refusing to take the oath to William III. It is not known whether any of his five other sons were at St. Paul's. Of these, two succeeded to the title, two distinguished themselves in the navy, and the eldest rose to the rank of colonel in the Guards. The career of the Old Pauline was cut short before he achieved any similar distinction, for he died in the Temple in 1708, only four years after he had written the Alcaic stanzas which are still extant in the MSS. *Carmina* in the school library, on the theme "Mors certa, tempus incertum."

The name of one of the assistants of Postlethwayt at St. Paul's has been rescued from oblivion from the following statement by "Mr. Bickerstaff," in No. 138 of *The Tatler*, dated February 25, 1709-10, "A citizen of London has given directions to Mr Rayner the writing-master of St. Paul's-school, to educate at his charge ten boys, who shall be nominated by me, in writing and accompts until they shall be fit for any trade."

In the same year John Rayner published a *Paul's Scholars Copy book*, which he dedicated to the Master and Wardens of the Company of Mercers. A later edition contains copies in Greek and Hebrew characters, which are stated to have been approved by Mr. Postlethwayt. Apart from this, nothing is known of the length of his connection with the school, but it is possible that to him is due the credit for the extremely legible, and in some cases most beautiful, handwriting of the boys who compiled the MS. volume of speeches of 1702, a Greek oration among which, in praise of Colet, has been said to be written in a character

that looks like a page of that *chef d'œuvre* of typography, the Granville Homer.

One Colonel John Ayres, who became a celebrated writing-master, taught his art in St. Paul's Churchyard, and in 1700 published a *Paul's School Roundhand*. One may surmise that he preceded John Rayner, who was his pupil, as writing-master in the school, a position the fees for which were partly defrayed from the collections at the school feast, and the results of which are to be seen in the statement in the biography of Sir Philip Francis, that "a century ago the scholars especially of St Paul's School and of Christ's Hospital were noted for their capital and uniform handwriting."

One interesting record of the work of the school under Postlethwayt has been preserved, and deserves quotation *in extenso*, as it shows the books read in the upper school exactly two centuries ago. The MS. owes its preservation to the fact that it was bound up in a volume of John Strype's "miscellaneous collections" in the Lansdowne Library in the British Museum.¹ It bears the title, "Books for Paul School, wherein ye 4 upper Forms were examined, Mar. 23 1709-10," and the memorandum forms a record of the second occasion on which Strype acted as "Apposer" in his old school. It runs as follows—

"Cl. 8a.

Bib. Heb. Exodi 3um v. 1 &c.

Aeschyli, Persae v. 1 &c.

Ciceronis, pro P. Quintio Oratio.

Livii L. 6tus.

Horatii, Carmen Saeculare. Epodon, Lib.

"Cl. 7ma.

Bib. Heb. Gen. 6 v. 1 &c.

Hom. Il. 8 v. 1 &c.

Euripidis, Medaea.

Ciceronis, Tuscul. Disput. L. 4.

Virg., Georg. L. 2v. 1 &c.

¹ Lans. MSS., 1197, p. 105.

"Cl. 6a.

Psalmus 21us, Heb.

Hesiodi, Generatio Deorum.

Luciani, Dialog. 3us, Prometheus.

Eutropii, Lib. 9us.

Terentii, Heautont. Act. 11us Sc. 1a.

"Cl. 5a.

Evang. S. Matthaei Cap. 5um.

Phaedri Lib. 5us Fab. 1ma &c.

Quinti Curtii Lib. 8us."

In comparing this syllabus with the outline of work afforded by Gale's time-table, the date of which is not known, but which from the year in which the latter became high master, cannot possibly have been drawn up more than thirty-eight years before Strype's memorandum, the outstanding feature is that Postlethwayt, in his enthusiasm for Oriental studies, had included Hebrew in the work of the Seventh and Sixth as well as of the Eighth.

Among the valuable MSS. in the possession of Mr. Hartshorne is a volume containing speeches delivered in Greek and Latin by successive eighth form boys in the last years of the seventeenth and the early years of the eighteenth century. They are evidently to a great extent the work of the boys themselves, although they occasionally bear interlinear corrections in Dr. Postlethwayt's handwriting.

Reference has been made to the speech delivered in 1702 by Christopher Hussey, in connection with its bearing on the most distinguished Pauline of the day, the Duke of Marlborough, but apart from that the orations are of interest, including, as they do, speeches made to the "apposers" or examiners by the head boy in each form, which contain an account of the books read during the year.

The Eighth, in a phrase which, however classical, has a curiously modern ring, declare that "In litteris desudamus." The main point of interest in their reading is to be found in the fact that apart from Greek most of their time was

devoted to Hebrew, as to which they declare "nos certe mirifice ea delectamur," while allusion is made to their study of other Oriental languages, notably Arabic, a fact which shows how far Postlethwayt carried his enthusiasm for Oriental studies.

The reading of the Seventh includes Homer, Theocritus, Virgil and Cicero. It is interesting to find a declaration on the part of London boys of a liking for Theocritus, in spite, as they ingenuously confess, of their ignorance of rustic affairs. Virgil is declared to be the Roman Homer and Theocritus in one, and of Cicero it is said that he alone could worthily pronounce his own encomium. The books read by the Sixth include an anthology of Greek epigrams, while another form, the name of which is not given at the head of the address, has been engaged in the study of Hesiod, Eutropius, Lucian, Terence, Livy and Dionysius of Halicarnassus, a list which shows that the study of Greek extended throughout the whole of the upper half of the school.¹

The present high master has presented to the school library another MS. volume, entitled, "*Orationes publicæ habitæ in Schola Divi Pauli, Londini, 1704*," which contains the prize exercises exhibited at the Apposition held on March 22, 1703-04, at which the Old Pauline antiquary, John Strype, and Dr. Green were apposers.

Four of the Latin speeches are devoted, as in 1702, to an account of the books read by the head forms. Thomas Andrews, who gained an exhibition in the following year and was a future Fellow of Trinity, states that the work of the Eighth has included Cicero, Virgil, Livy and the Greek tragedians, together with Hebrew—"the mother of all tongues"—and Chaldee. Edward J. West, a boy who has otherwise not been identified as a Pauline, speaks, "*de libris*

¹ *Pauline*, vol. x., No. 55, p. 110.

Septimae classis," comprising Homer—"the incomparable"—with Theocritus and Virgil. Benjamin Lardner, who also has not been identified, declares that the Sixth read Hesiod, Lucian, Sallust and Terence, while a boy named Luke, who may probably be identified with an exhibitor of 1707, explains that the Fifth study the Greek Testament, together with Phaedrus and Quintus Curtius.¹

Of the nine remaining prose orations, one by the Campden Exhibitor of the year is in Hebrew, and one is in Greek, the remainder being in Latin. Of these the most interesting is that by Charles Henry Lee, the occurrence of whose name here has served to identify as an Old Pauline the Hon. Chas. Lee, who was a benefactor to the library in 1706, a circumstance which is recorded in the library catalogue of 1743.

Three of the *Carmina* included in this volume are in Greek and twelve are in Latin. The dates which they bear vary from 1701 to 1704, and they appear to have been collected by Richard Thoroton, whose name, with the date 1704, the book bears on its title-page. Among the authors of the *Carmina* are Thoroton himself, Christopher Hussey and the Hon. Algernon Coote, who afterwards became Earl of Montrath.

In an unsigned "Account of John Postlethwayt," which is among the Hartshorne MSS., it is stated that "He laid on his blows with this intermission, that the offender under his hand might just then be put in mind between each of them what was the cause and design of the punishment. . . . He thus slowly laying on his blows without passion, with reasoning and arguing between."

In his funeral sermon, on the other hand, it was said of him that "his constant Attendance upon, and Diligence in his School, was most remarkable, and perhaps without

¹ *Pauline*, vol. xxiv., No. 156, p. 181.

Example. And this was such that he had no need of using that Severity that is commonly necessary in many other places."

We have already had occasion to refer to the large number of boarders at St. Paul's during Postlethwayt's high mastership. Although nothing definite is to be found in the school records concerning the boarding fees charged at this date, some light might seem to be thrown upon them by statements in a still unpublished treatise by John Aubrey, the Oxford antiquary. The writer complains that "the exorbitant deare rates for boarding at Westminster Schoole and other schooles about London is a great grievance, viz. thirty pounds per annum, twenty-five pounds per annum at the least, and yet the children have not their bellies full." One might have assumed that this gave a statement of the charges made by Postlethwayt to his boarders, since St. Paul's and Charterhouse were at this time the only two "other schooles about London" that took boarders, and the surmise is curiously borne out by a letter, to which attention has not hitherto been drawn, from the high master in reply to one from his nephew, in which the latter spoke of a friend who proposed to send a boy to St. Paul's. John Postlethwayt wrote, "My usual Tearms, I suppose you might have been able to have informed him of, viz. £31 per annum, with a Drinking Cup whereof, I think, you can show him a pattern, and some linen, and two or three other small things of no great value, but such as all bring."

A letter from a parent to the high master which is extant shows that the boys brought their own "linnen, Pewter, and other things," and another letter dated August 6, 1711, addressed to Postlethwayt by one Charles Hodges, shows that the house of Churchill maintained its connection with the school—

"My Lady Dutchess of Marlborough," runs the letter, "haveing now occasion for Mr. fyshe, Desires you will please to send Him Down to Her to-morrow by the St Alban's Coach. The Bearer . . . if he wants a little Trunk for his Cloaths & Books will Buy Him one ; and as soon as I come to Town (which will be some time this month) I shall wait on You and Discharg what's due on his Account."

From the correspondence of the high master which has been preserved, it is seen that he was on terms of the closest intimacy with the Archbishops of Canterbury and Tuam and the Bishops of Norwich, Worcester and Bangor. It is surprising that he obtained no ecclesiastical preferment. An interesting letter written in 1698, which is extant, shows that in that year Postlethwayt's old pupil, John Wallis, sent Addison, his college friend at Magdalen, with a letter of introduction to the High Master.

The careers of Postlethwayt's pupils to which reference has been made do not bear out the generalization of Lord Shaftesbury—a Wykehamist—who, writing in the reign of Anne, said that in England a boy must be bred either in pedantry or foppery. Many Old Paulines appear to have hit the happy mean.

Of the ninety-seven men who are known to have been educated at St. Paul's during this high mastership, sixty-nine went to the Universities, of whom only eight went to Oxford, sixty-one going to Cambridge. Of these, seventeen are known to have obtained fellowships, fifteen of them being at Cambridge, and nine being held at Trinity College, Cambridge.

A benefaction, the fruits of which were first applied to the school towards the end of Postlethwayt's high mastership, made the tendency of Paulines to proceed to Trinity, Cambridge, more marked than ever.

William Perry, Fellow of Trinity, and lecturer of St. Peter's upon Cornhill, who was a Campden Exhibitioner in 1671, left £1000 to Dr. Gale to be invested in lands or a rent charge for the maintenance of five exhibitioners, each drawing £10 a year for eight years so long as they remained in residence at Trinity, Cambridge. The college had some difficulty in recovering the money from the executors of Dean Gale, who died in 1702, and it appears that they only succeeded in recovering £600 from his son Roger, who was his chief executor. This they invested in an estate in Essex, which in 1724 maintained five scholars at £5 each, but the value of the exhibitions subsequently rose to £13, and they were regarded as tenable until the holder was of M.A. standing.

By the will of Humphrey Gower, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, who died in 1711, scholarships of £10 a year, to be awarded to clergymen's sons, were founded at St. John's for boys educated for at least three years, either at St. Paul's School or at Dorchester Grammar School, the two schools at which Gower had himself been educated. Only eight Paulines appear to have been elected to these scholarships, but the list includes the name of Thomas Clarkson, the philanthropist. Although the Cambridge University Commission of 1850 supposed that the claim of Paulines to them had perished through desuetude, Herbert Clementi Smith was elected to one of these scholarships in 1856, but since that date no Pauline appears to have held them.

None of the holders of exhibitions from St. Paul's received more than £10 a year from any of the various endowments available at the beginning of the eighteenth century. It is said that a Christ Church student of Westminster could live on his studentship in Atterbury's time, although its nominal value was only £20. The bills of

Matthew Postlethwayt at St. John's College, Cambridge, which are extant, show that his college bills amounted to about £30 a year, towards the payment of which his exhibition from St. Paul's cannot have gone very far.

CHAPTER XVI

THE BEGINNING OF DECAY

PHILIP AYSCOUGH AND BENJAMIN MORLAND, HIGH MASTERS

1713-1733

PHILIP AYSCOUGH, 1713-1721

ON the death of Postlethwayt the school, which had for more than a century enjoyed a term of prosperity, and a reputation unequalled until modern times, entered upon a changed career. The intellectual blight which in the eighteenth century fell over Oxford and Cambridge and many of the public schools, did not leave St. Paul's unaffected. Here, indeed, the lowest period was passed half way through the century, and did not last, as in many other schools, until the end of the Napoleonic wars, but, nevertheless, the contrast between the prestige of St. Paul's at the date of Postlethwayt's death, in 1713, and the low ebb to which it had dropped in 1748 on Charles' dismissal, marks one of the most surprisingly rapid changes in the history of any school. The eighteenth-century MS. book of extracts from the Mercers' records, in the possession of the Rev. R. J. Walker, contains an account of the election of Postlethwayt's successor, which took place on October 15, 1713. "Diverse candidates, Persons of known Abilities attended for the obtaining the said place." Of the five applicants two, Henry Mills and William Butler, have not been identified, a third was Gerard Neden, an Old Pauline who had just taken his M.A. at Cambridge, and who

subsequently became a Fellow of Trinity and Prebendary of Lincoln. The last of the unsuccessful candidates was Samuel Dunster, who had proceeded to his Doctorate of Divinity in the year of his application for the high mastership. He was an old Merchant Taylor and Trinity, Cambridge, man, who had served as chaplain to various noblemen, including the great Duke of Marlborough. His sole title to a scholastic post was a translation of Horace, the dulness of which inspired the taunts of a contemporary squib—

“Oer Tibur’s swan the Muses wept in vain,
And mourned their bard by cruel Dunster slain.”

He became well known as a High Churchman and a Jacobite, and after having been a prebendary of Salisbury, by an odd coincidence he was collated to a stall in Lincoln Cathedral, like his fellow-candidate, Gerard Neden. Lady Cowper mentions him as preaching an intolerably dull sermon in 1716, and in spite of the measure of success to which he attained, his verbosity and his reputation for stupidity more than justify the Mercers in rejecting his application, backed though there is reason to suppose it was, by family influence within the body of the company itself.

To the candidates for the vacant post, according to Dean Colet’s provisions, were read the founder’s statutes relating to the high master, together with some other matters to which we shall have occasion to refer later. Ayscough, the surmaster, who proved the successful candidate, was not present “by reason of his indisposition,” an illness which no doubt had prevented his attending the funeral of John Postlethwayt. He was represented at the election by Mr. Stonestreet, Mr. Cook and Mr. Newton, the first named of whom was no doubt William Stonestreet, the rector of St. Stephen’s, Walbrook, who was a con-

temporary both at St. Paul's and at Trinity, Cambridge, of the surmaster.

Ayscough presented testimonials from Sir William Dawes, Bishop of Chester ; William Fleetwood, Bishop of St. Asaph ; William Talbot, Bishop of Peterborough, and other learned men, and to these recommendations may, perhaps, be attributed his successful application for a post nomination to which, as we have seen, was refused him sixteen years before, on the ground of his negligence in the discharge of his duties.

At the date of his appointment Ayscough must have been over fifty years of age. He had been a "poor scholar" at St. Paul's from 1673 till 1675, under the mastership of Thomas Gale. In 1676 he graduated at Trinity, Cambridge, as a Campden Exhibitioner, but of his career during the ten years which elapsed between the date of his degree and his appointment in 1685 to the surmastership of St. Paul's absolutely nothing is known. It is interesting to notice that he was the first surmaster for a hundred and forty years to pass directly to the high mastership, for Cromleholme after being surmaster was head master of Dorchester School before he was elected high master of St. Paul's. One important fact which may have had some bearing on the promotion of the surmaster to the high master's chair is to be found in the minutes of the Court of Assistants of the Mercers, under the date October 8, 1713, just a week, that is to say, before the Court met to fill the vacancy caused by Postlethwayt's death. The entry runs : "Whereas the Statutes and Ordinances of the said Founder doth empower the Wardens and Assistants of the Fellowship of the Mystery of the Mercers to add and diminish unto the said Founders book of Statutes—Then the Question was put whether this Court shall make any alterations in the said Orders of themselves without the advice of Council

(*sic*) Learned in the Law or not, and it was carried in the Affirmative. And Afterwards the Court upon mature consideration have and do hereby Order for the Good and Benefit of the said School that at all times hereafter the Master Wardens and Court of Assistants of this Fellowship shall make the Choice of the Sur Master of Paul's School themselves and not by the High Master of the said School or any other Person whatsoever."

By this means the Mercers arrogated to themselves the right of appointing the surmaster, and deprived the high master of one of his chief prerogatives.

Clement Tookie, the first surmaster appointed, not by the high master but by the Mercers, was, like Ayscough himself, an Old Pauline, and like him, again, had been a Campden Exhibitioner of Trinity College, Cambridge. On coming down from the University, he was immediately appointed under usher. Tookie's successor in the post of under usher, Isaac Steele, was, like his two colleagues, an Old Pauline. He addressed Matthew Postlethwayt as "cousin" in his letters, and there is reason to believe that he was nephew to the late high master.¹ Steele succeeded Tookie as surmaster on the resignation of the latter to accept a country living in Cambridgeshire, from which in course of time he was promoted to a minor canonry and prebendal stall in Ely Cathedral. Steele's successor as under usher or chaplain was Hugh Wyat, one of Ayscough's first pupils at St. Paul's, who received the appointment immediately after graduating at Bene't College, Cambridge, and it will thus be seen that during the eight years of Ayscough's high mastership the whole of the teaching staff of the school consisted solely of Old Paulines.

Some time between 1713 and 1721 Ayscough took a Doctor's degree, probably a D.D. of Cambridge. In 1721

¹ *Vide* Joh. Coll. Reg., pt. iii. p. 14, line 45.

he resigned the high mastership on being presented by King George I to the rectory of St. Olave's, Southwark, where he remained until his death twenty-one years later, at a very advanced age.

A letter from Isaac Steele, the chaplain, written in 1716, contains a postscript, in which, referring no doubt to his wife, Steele says, "Nan gives her humble service to Mr William, and desires him to mind his Book, for she does not think that the Head Master of our Schoole will last for ever." Who Mr. William was we do not know, but the high master disappointed Mrs. Nan Steele's typical eighteenth-century anxiety for the occurrence of a vacancy which might lead to another's promotion. A letter written in April 1714 by Samuel Kerrich to Matthew Postlethwayt, while the latter was staying at the school, while in London, shows conclusively that Ayscough, like his predecessor, kept a boarding-house at St. Paul's, for the writer says, "Pray give my service to Mr. Ayscough and all his boarders."

The sermon preached in 1728 by Thomas Hough, an old pupil of Ayscough and Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, "On the Happiness and Advantages of a Liberal and Virtuous Education," deserves quotation on account of the tone of enthusiasm in which it is pitched. "Like St. Paul," says the preacher, "we have all had the peculiar happiness of a liberal and virtuous education in a celebrated neighbouring school, like him we have all been brought up at the feet of Gamaliels, men of known abilities in instructing the mind and manners of youth. . . . This is what we of St. Paul's School have to glory in."

That the new studies introduced by Postlethwayt were not abandoned by his successor, is shown from a statement in Strype's edition of Stow's *Survey*, in which the Old Pauline antiquary speaks of Hebrew, and sometimes other Oriental languages, as part of the regular curriculum.

During Ayscough's high mastership the *Preces* were reprinted. A copy of the edition of 1718, which belonged to Bishop Sancroft, is preserved in the library of St. Paul's Cathedral. The library of the school also possesses a copy of this edition.

Among the more interesting pupils of Ayscough, Maurice Green must be mentioned. His name has been preserved from the fact that he was steward of the feast in 1727. He has only within the last few years been identified with the son of Dr. Green, the Vicar of St. Olave's, Jewry, who was born about 1696. At the age of twenty-two he became organist of St. Paul's Cathedral. In the year in which he acted as steward at the school feast he became organist, composer and choir-master at the Chapel Royal, and three years later he became Professor of Music in the University of Cambridge, where he obtained the degree of Mus. Doc. He was on terms of intimacy with Handel. His musical compositions fill a column in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He set to music Pope's "Ode on St. Cecilia's Day," and more than one of his anthems still keep their place in modern use in some of the English cathedrals.

Ayscough in the first year of his high mastership maintained, as was natural, the school feast which had, as far as we know, been founded by Gale in the year in which the future high master left the school as a Campden Exhibitioner. The first preacher was Samuel Dod, sometime Fellow of Clare, and in his sermon on the traditional day in 1713-14 he expressed a hope concerning the school, "that as we have received it from our predecessors, so we be careful to hand it down to posterity, one of the brightest ornaments of this great city."

The preacher in the following year was Matthew Postlethwayt, who refers to "my most honoured uncle, for sixteen years last past, High Master." He refers to the

fact that "instruction is given in the School in Grammar Rhetoric, and the Latin, Greek, Hebrew and Chaldee tongues," which bears out Strype in showing that with the death of Postlethwayt the study of Oriental languages was not abandoned. He speaks of St. Paul's as "the chiefest Nursery in this Great City for Learning and Good Manners," and the sermon ends with a delightfully pompous apostrophe to the boys of the school, "the growing hopes of that Nursery of Piety and Learning, whose Years render them capable of wholesome Advice"; and to "You, more particularly, Ingenious Youth! who are shortly proceeding to more Manly Studies; to Studies which belong to your maturer age, and which are peculiar to the University."

The preacher selected for the following year disappointed the stewards, and Clement Tookie, the surmaster, filled his place at three days' notice. In his sermon, the cost of printing which was paid by the company, he speaks of the school—

"The Temporal Advantages of which I cannot better and more briefly set forth than by assuring you that for above two hundred years, Men, considerable at Home and Abroad, in the City and at the Bar, in the Senate, and at Court, in the Church and State, have in the Place of our Education, laid the Foundation of their Eminence; and that, at the present some of them whom yourselves know, enjoy the Ornaments and Rewards of their Virtuous and Learned Improvements, and deservedly shine with the Mace, the Coronet, and the Mitre."

The sermon of Samuel Knight, preached in the following year, is pitched in the same key as far as references to the school are concerned. Among the MSS. at the British Museum is one which shows that the "List of Distinguished Paulines dead and living, with a special notice of the Duke

of Marlboro',” which Knight added to the printed edition of the sermon, was largely furnished by John Strype, for in a letter to the antiquary dated January 29, 1717-18, the preacher says—

“ . . . I must desire you to help me to as many of the famous Men educated in St Paul’s School as you can, and to send them to me at Mr Wyat’s, being printing my Sermon and having occasion to mention such. However I hope to see you on Tuesday whether you can assist me or not in this affair. I am your

“humble servant,

“Sam. Knight.”

In his sermon, which was a most patriotic effort, Dr. Knight, at that time chaplain to the Earl of Orford, laid stress upon the fact that the school had been “so productive of singularly useful Persons in their several Stations and Employments.” After having mentioned the most distinguished Old Paulines then living, the preacher went on to say—

“These should fire the growing youth who succeed them in these happy advantages to do something that may augment the future credit of that School which has proved so fruitful a nursery to the Publick, and thereby increase the Catalogue of those whom succeeding Generations shall look back upon with admiration.” In another part of this most interesting sermon the preacher declared that, “It doth not a little redound to the Credit of the neighbouring school that Lilly, the first *master* thereof, was so excellent a Grammarian, that by Publick Authority his *Grammar* is used to this day throughout the kingdom.”

One other fact concerning this sermon deserves mention. It is the earliest of the series, printed copies of which are

extant, to which is prefixed an invitation bearing a view of the school building, and this engraved view of the school is one of the earliest which is known to exist of the building after the removal of the *louvre*, or *cupola*.

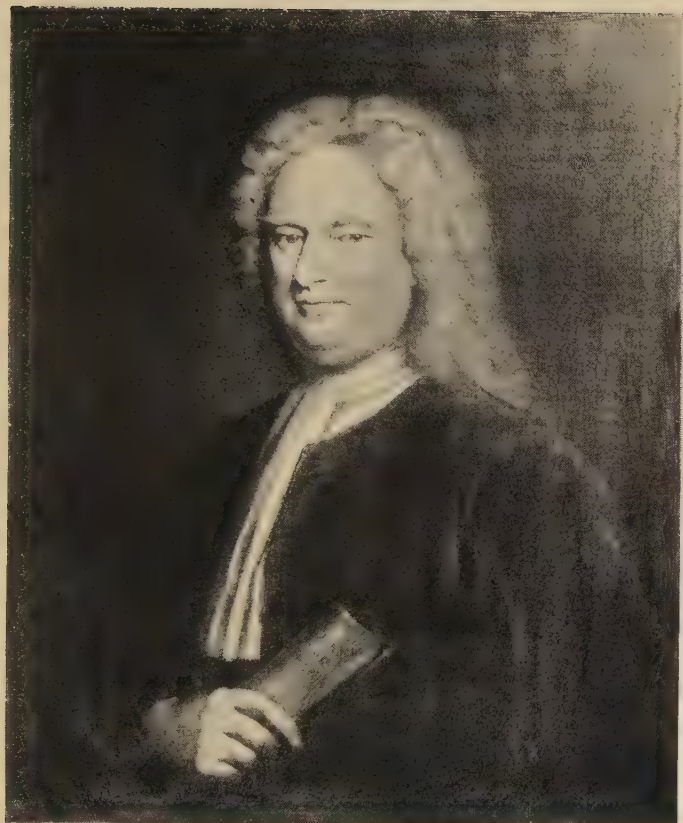
The records of Ayscough's high mastership are extremely scanty. The names of only thirty-two Old Paulines can be earmarked as those of his pupils. These are derived almost entirely from the lists of exhibitors. His pupils were too young in 1723 to be present in any numbers among the subscribers to Knight's *Colet*, while the lacuna in the published sermons at the school feast from the year 1728 to 1755 deprives us of the lists of stewards from which so many Old Pauline names have been recovered.

Only five of his pupils gained college fellowships, all at Cambridge—three at Bene't and two at Trinity. Of these Timothy Crumpe became high master, and the only one of the rest who attained even moderate distinction was John Butler, who became a prebendary of Canterbury.

In the school accounts a change is made in the title of the Poor Scholar, who from the beginning of Ayscough's high mastership becomes known as the Porter Boy—a name retained till the disappearance of the post—and receives an annual fee of £2. It is interesting that the first bearer of the new title, John Escolme, who was a Pauline Exhibitor at Trinity, Cambridge, for seven years, was in later life a benefactor to the library of which as a boy he had charge, for the school still possesses a folio copy of Plutarch which bears his name on the title-page.

BENJAMIN MORLAND, 1721–1733

On Ayscough's resignation Isaac Steele, who had acted in the school for seven years—first as chaplain and then as surmaster—applied unsuccessfully for the post, and less



BENJAMIN MORLAND (?), HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

From a portrait in the school

[To face p. 304.]

than a month after his fruitless application it is recorded that "the Company paid the parish dues for his buryall." Another Pauline, William Betterley, was also a defeated candidate; but of other aspirants to the post, if any, no record has been preserved. Betterley soon after became head master of Worcester Grammar School.

The new high master, Benjamin Morland by name, was a Fellow of the Royal Society. It is not known at what school he was educated, and the absence of his name from the lists of Alumni Oxoniensis or Graduati Cantabrigienses suggests that he had no degree at either University. His age at the date of his election cannot have been less than sixty-eight, and of his former career we know nothing more than that he had for some years maintained a very successful private school at Hackney.

All that is known of Morland's personality is to be found in Samuel Knight's *Life of Colet*, in which the Old Pauline author, after mentioning him in his list of high masters, goes on to add, "Under whom I must in justice to him say that this school is in a very flourishing state, so that we need not doubt of having hereafter several more worthies added to complete the following list of those who have been educated in this school." It is possible that he was the son of Dr. Samuel Morland, F.R.S., at whose school in Bethnal Green Lord Chancellor Hardwicke was educated about 1700.

The Latin epigram signed B. M., which is prefixed to the *Preces*, is usually attributed to Morland. It runs—

"En faciem sculptor simulavit et ora Coleti
Efficta artifici, spirat imago manu
At sua commendant melius benefacta Coletum
Postgenitis: nequeunt haec monumenta mori."

In their original form the word "plastēs" took the place of "sculptor" in the first of these lines, which were written on the bust of Dean Colet.

We know nothing of the place of education of James Greenwood, who was appointed surmaster a few weeks after Morland's election, but it may have been he who graduated at Jesus College, Cambridge, in 1680. He came to St. Paul's after having been head master of a private boarding school at Woodford, in Essex, and the fact that before opening this school he had been an usher under Morland at Hackney seems to show that although the Mercers had taken the right of appointing the surmaster into their own hands, they nevertheless still allowed the high master some voice in the recommendation of candidates.

Greenwood was well known as the author of an English grammar, which ran through numerous editions, and a collection of poems entitled *The Virgin Muse*. His grammar earned from Dr. Isaac Watts the tribute that he had shown "the deep Knowledge without the haughty Airs of a Critick."

Shortly before Morland's death his advanced age, which rivalled that of Busby, at Westminster, impelled the Mercers to appoint an assistant in addition to the surmaster and chaplain. An Old Pauline, John Clarke by name, who from this post rose to the two lower statutory masterships in the school, received a gratuity of £10 from the Mercers for his services in this capacity.

In the minutes of the Mercers for the year 1729 it appears that the two apposers "declared the school in general was in very good Order," but the two lowest forms were not so well grounded as might be expected, and this the apposers declared was due to "the Chaplain's taking too much pains and the Young Scholars taking too little pains in consulting their Dictionary." The chaplain, Timothy Crumpe, an Old Pauline, was summoned before the Court of Assistants and told of this report, and in reply

he informed the Governors that "there were eight Forms in the School that he taught the boys in the two lowest Forms that he had now ninety boys under his care that they were most of them very young and of tender years that the greater part of them had not been more than twelve months and that one quarter of them had not been more than four months under his care and that many of them had not learned to read in the *Accidence* before they came to him And that for his own part he was constant always in School hours both Forenoon and Afternoon in teaching and instructing them of which the Court was well satisfied but it recommended it to him to consult Mr Morland if there should be occasion." ¹

We have not enough information available to judge accurately of the condition of the school during Morland's high mastership, but the statistics given by Crumpe, which I have just quoted, certainly do not suggest that it was in a satisfactory condition.

Seventeen years before, as we have seen, on Postlethwayt's death the statutory number of a hundred and fifty and three was exceeded. Nineteen years later, as we shall see, on Charles' dismissal, the number had shrunk to less than a third of that set out in the statutes.

We have no statistics as to the number of boys in the school at any dates between these two, but if we assume that the full statutory number of places were filled at the date at which Crumpe made his statement, we must conclude that nearly two-thirds of the whole school was concentrated in the two lowest forms, and the average number of pupils in each of the six head forms can have been only just over ten. The whole of Crumpe's information leads one to suppose that after a great diminution in numbers below the statutory total, the school in 1729 underwent a rapid revival,

¹ MS. in possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.

which, however, from what we know of its history during the twenty years which followed, must have been very speedily overtaken by a severe set back.

The names of only thirty of Morland's pupils are at present known. The failure to appoint to school exhibitions for nearly thirty years after 1720 has removed one of the sources of information as to the names of the boys in the school under Morland and his two successors, with the unfortunate result that we can identify as Paulines even fewer persons in the first half of the eighteenth century than in the corresponding period of the seventeenth century.

Of Paulines under Morland five have recently been discovered from the published registers of St. John's and Caius Colleges in Cambridge, two are marked as Old Paulines in the list of subscribers to Knight's *Life of Colet*, the names of four have been preserved from the fact of their having served successively in the capacity of "porter boy," and the remainder were all either Perry or Campden Exhibitioners at Trinity College, Cambridge.

The most distinguished of the four pupils of Morland who obtained fellowships—all, it may be noted, at Cambridge—was Charles Pinfold, whose father, the Commissary of the Dean and Chapter of Westminster, was, like the man of whom we are speaking, an Old Pauline and a Fellow of Trinity Hall. The elder Charles Pinfold was at St. Paul's under Gale; his son and namesake was also a barrister, and after having held the post of Admiralty Advocate, became Governor of the Island of Barbadoes, a colonial appointment which at the end of the preceding century had been held by another Old Pauline, Lord Grey of Werke, who, like Pinfold's father, had been a pupil at St. Paul's of Thomas Gale.

Of the "porter boys" at the school during the high mastership of Morland, the names of six, each of whom

held that position for a year, are known, but no names are extant from 1727 to 1733. Of these, Stephen Bolton became a Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, as did another of his school-fellows, Robert Curtis, a few years later.

A little more than a year after Morland's election the school feast, which had been allowed to fall into abeyance for six years, was revived. On the traditional date in 1724, the year in which he became master of Bene't, Matthias Mawson preached the sermon, in the course of which he throws some light for us on the reason for the temporary intermission of the school feast when he declares that "The way to make this Meeting lasting as well as useful and serviceable would be to keep within the bounds of discretion and prudence; and not to suffer the expenses to run higher than what the occasion and decency require." This sermon possesses an additional interest from the fact that it is the first which contains as an addendum an account of the money collected and the purposes to which it was devoted. The figures deserve to be quoted *in extenso*, because they form a type from which those of subsequent years differ only in very small details.

"The money collected at the FEAST for charitable uses amounted to £47 6s. 6d., as is disposed of as follows—

	£	s.	d.
(1) For the admission of two <i>Boys</i> into the University	17	06	06
(2) For putting out two to Apprenticeships . . .	12	00	00
(3) For Teaching <i>Twelve</i> Writing and Arithmetic			
an Whole year	12	00	00
(4) For <i>Books</i> to the School Library	06	00	00

The collection at St. Paul's School feast, while having none of the mendicancy connected with the Montem purse at Eton, or the election cap at Westminster, appears, as far as the head boys were concerned, to have been exactly analogous to the "cap" into which until 1871 visitors dropped

contributions for the head gown-boy at the Charterhouse after he had delivered his oration on Founder's Day.

In the following year the collection at the school feast, at which A. A. Sykes preached, amounted to £42 15s. 6d., and a saving was effected by spending only £8 10s. in putting two boys out to apprenticeship. In 1725, the year in which Alured Clarke was preacher, a still smaller sum was collected—namely, £40 16s.—and whereas a slightly larger grant was made to the library, and eighteen boys were taught writing and arithmetic at the rate of £1 each per annum, economies were effected by apprenticing only one boy at a cost of £6, and expending the sum of £10 for the admission of only one boy into the University. The sermon, in 1726, of John Leng, who had been preacher in 1712, and who is the only Old Pauline known to have made two sermons at the school feast, has not been found in print, while of that of Henry Parker, the preacher in the following year, the copy in the Guildhall Library is, so far as I know, a unique specimen. In it the preacher exclaims, "May there be never any strife or contention among us, except it be this, who shall do most for the glory of God and the honour of St Paul's School." The disposal of the money collected, which amounted to £42, shows that only £6 was voted "towards the admission of a lad into the University," while a new item appears, amounting to £12, "To the Lad that made the Speech," a sum which, although not expressly so stated, served no doubt as an endowment for the captain, who presumably proceeded either to Oxford or to Cambridge.

A similar mode of distribution was followed in 1728. Thomas Hough, preaching at the school feast in that year, declared that "It is to the honour and reputation of St. Paul's School that in *nothing* is it behind *the very chiefest schools*; having ever since its foundation continued to send

forth into the world a constant succession of persons of distinguish'd worth and merit who have been famed and remark'd for their address and abilities in their respective stations callings and professions : that it has bred up those who have arrived at the highest skill and eminency in divinity, law, physic, poetry, history, antiquity, mathematics, and every other part of useful and polite learning, that out of it the church has been supplied with strenuous and vigilant defenders of the true Christian faith : the Court with wise and able ministers : the Senate with a SPEAKER whose praise it is to have been elected, in the late reign, to preside in that honourable assembly in two successive parliaments ; and to name no more, the camp with a GENERAL in whom courage conduct and success conspired to render him the boast and glory of our own age and the envy of all succeeding ones : that it has hitherto presented an unsullied character and reputation as to virtue and morals ; and that those fashionable gaieties (to say no worse of them) those vices and debaucheries which too visibly reign in most places of public education, have never been able to gain any considerable footing there ; that it has always been very signally remarkable for its steady and unbiassed loyalty ; for its zealous and constant affection to the succession in the *Protestant* line ; and for its firm attachment to our present happy establishment in church and state ; which, no doubt, has been owing to those early principles of subjection, and a dutiful *obedience to the higher powers* which have always been and still are industriously inculcated on the minds of the youth."

The preacher's references to the standard of morality in the public schools in the eighteenth century may be read in conjunction with Smollett's description of Winchester in *Peregrine Pickle*, and the statement by Charles Simeon, the well-known Cambridge evangelical, who declared half-a-

century later that he would be tempted to take the life of his son rather than let him see the vice which he had seen at Eton.

Thomas Salmon, the most distinguished of the pupils of Benjamin Morland, was a native of Tiverton, Devon, who instead of being sent to school at Blundell's came up to London to St. Paul's. At Cambridge he held both a Campden and a Perry Exhibition, and after holding various benefices he became chaplain to the Duke of Bedford, who as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland presented him to the Bishopric of Ferns.

The Duke of Bedford appears to have had a *penchant* for Old Pauline chaplains, for another holder of that post, Thomas Broughton, was educated first at Eton, and then at St. Paul's. After graduating at Cambridge as a wrangler, he became reader to the Temple, and Bishop Sherlock, the master, made him a prebendary of Salisbury, where he occupied a stall for forty years. A man of the most catholic tastes, Broughton, who was a friend of Handel, translated Voltaire, wrote a huge dictionary of religions, edited Dryden, and wrote a large number of the biographies in the *Biographia Britannica*.

Another distinguished clergyman who was one year junior to Broughton at Cambridge was George North, the son of a citizen of London, who became a well-known numismatist and Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

One of the only two other pupils of Morland of the slightest interest was distinguished for the penmanship which, as we have seen, was at the beginning of the eighteenth century one of the objects of pride in the school. Joseph Champion, who is said to have been partly educated at St. Paul's, was the author of two well-known books on caligraphy, and in 1751 taught writing in the school. John Clark, the son of an eminent penman, went to

Trinity, Cambridge, with a Perry Exhibition, and subsequently became, as we have seen, assistant to Morland, and when the latter died and was succeeded by Timothy Crumpe, Clark filled the place of chaplain vacated by the new high master, and four years later became surmaster. The main interest in his career lies in the fact that he was a "King's Scholar" at Cambridge, holding as he did one of the scholarships founded by George I.

In 1721 £4 were paid "for setting the books of the library in order."

Knight's *Life of Colet* contains a catalogue of the school library as it existed in 1724, which shows that it contained 663 books. The latest purchases are set down as being *Pierson* (sic) *on the Creed*, *Terentius in Usum Delphini*, and Greenwood's *English Grammar*, the work of the recently appointed surmaster, which we may presume was taught in the school.

The description of St. Paul's written by a Portuguese merchant from Lisbon, Don Manoel Gonzalo, who visited the school in the year 1730, describes the library as "consisting chiefly of classic authors," and the same writer's extremely accurate account contains a description of the appearance of the school written only six years after the view in Knight's *Colet* was engraved, in which he says, "The frontispiece is adorned with bustos, entablature, pediments, festoons, shields, vases, and the Mercers' arms, cut in stone : with this inscription over the door, 'INGREDERE UT PROFICIAS.' Upon every window of the school was written by the founder's direction, 'AUT DOCE, AUT DISCE, AUT DISCEDE.'"

The connection of the family of Postlethwayt with St. Paul's continued long after the death of the high master of that name.

Letters from Mathew Postlethwayt which have been

preserved show that he frequently stayed at the school when in London for many years after the death of his uncle. His son, John, who was a godson of the high master, was at St. Paul's under Morland, and in a letter written in January 1727 to his wife, by Mathew Postlethwayt, the latter speaks of the very kind and handsome treatment which the boy received from his master, Morland, while mention in the same letter of "our little nephew here" refers to another member of the family who has not yet been identified.

The portrait of young John Postlethwayt, which represents him as a handsome dark boy in a white wig, grey coat and steinkirk, is with that of his father in the set of nine pastel portraits by John Sanders in the collection of Mr. Hartshorne.

From the letters which are extant it appears that James Greenwood, the surmaster, kept a boarding house in which John Postlethwayt was a boarder. In spite of the fact that his father was able to write to his wife that "Mr. Morland expressed a very tender and affectionate concern for his welfare," the boy was troublesome and extravagant, and his taste for theatre-going caused his father to write him a very severe letter, the burden of which was "I utterly abhor and disapprove of Play-houses." The boy's dislike for the food provided in Greenwood's boarding house resulted in his father causing him to be removed into that kept by Hugh Wyat, the chaplain.

John Postlethwayt went from St. Paul's to Merton, the college to which his great-uncle, the high master, had been a benefactor, and after serving for some years as chaplain on H.M.S. *Worcester*, he succeeded his father as Rector of Denton.

A letter from his father written to him in December 1727, while he was still at school, which speaks of

"sending Mr. Morland a guinea for ye Breaking up at Christmas," points to the prevalence at this time, as in that of Gale, of a custom of giving the high master a gratuity, an exact counterpart to which is to be found in existence at Westminster at the same period.

In a letter from Hugh Wyat, the chaplain of the school, written on March 21, 1726-27, to his school-fellow, Samuel Kerrich, reference is made to an episode of which no explanation has been forthcoming.

"Our Schoolfellow, Mr. Marriot," he writes, "has resolved to take up the cudgels in defence of Paul's School, and will punish to the utmost Rigour of the Law those pretty Gentlemen who have burnt our Records. He will begin his prosecution next term."

The Sessions Papers of the Central Criminal Court, which contain a complete list of prisoners and of the crimes for which they were indicted, reveal nothing which sheds any light on this ominous statement.

CHAPTER XVII

THE CONTINUANCE OF DECAY

TIMOTHY CRUMPE AND GEORGE CHARLES, HIGH MASTERS

1733-1748

TIMOTHY CRUMPE, 1733-1737

OF the election which ensued on the death of Morland we have no information, but it appears that James Greenwood, the surmaster, was not a candidate. The successful applicant for the high mastership was Timothy Crumpe, who for five years had been chaplain under Morland. He now received promotion over the head of the surmaster, who retained his post for the remainder of his life, which ended four years later in 1737.

Crumpe was an Old Pauline Fellow of Trinity, Cambridge. He was born in Herefordshire in the closing year of the seventeenth century, and was therefore at the date of his election only thirty-three years of age, a striking contrast to his predecessor, who had just died at the age of eighty, but although Crumpe was the youngest man ever elected to the high mastership, his tenure of the post was destined to be the shortest in the history of the school, for, lasting as it did but little more than three years, his career as high master was even more brief than the troubled years passed in that position by the younger Gill.

He died at the end of January 1737 of consumption, it is said, and left a widow who survived him for forty-five years, dying at the age of eighty-three in the year 1782.¹

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1782, p. 559.

Crumpe's successor as chaplain, John Clark, was also an Old Pauline, and appears to have acted as assistant to Morland shortly before his death, when advancing years made him require extra help in the school, and for these services he received a gratuity of £10.

We have seen in our account of Morland's high mastership how Crumpe, when chaplain, was declared by the apposers to save his pupils in the lower school too much pains, with the result that the boys in the first and second forms did not come up to the standard demanded by the apposers. A similar complaint was made once more during Crumpe's high mastership, for in minute of a meeting of the Court of Assistants in 1736, "The Revd. Mr Jewson and the Revd. Mr Drew the two Apposers being desired to report how they found the School Mr Jewson informed the Court there was a Defect and if there was not some Amendment made in the lower School the burthen and care would be too much for the High Master and that the boys ought to be better instructed in the lower School. He recommended to this Court the Examination of the Scholars to be Publick in the School, before all the Masters of the School, the Gentlemen of the Company and others who please to attend in the School yearly upon that Occation. Mr Drew joined with the said Mr Jewson in his Opinion which this Court approved and Ordered to be observed and performed accordingly for the future." ¹

With the exception of Richard Jones and Thomas Freeman, who were respectively the third and fourth high masters of St. Paul's, less is known of the pupils of Timothy Crumpe than of those of any other holder of that office. The names of only five of the boys who were in the school in his short term as high master have been preserved, and not one of these is of any great interest. Of these one,

¹ MS. in possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.

James Carrington, became Chancellor of the Diocese of Exeter ; another, Edward Venn, became a well-known physician, but the chief interest in his name centres in the fact that he was a brother of the celebrated Calvinistic divine, Henry Venn, the place of whose education before his admission five years after his brother to St. John's, Cambridge, is unknown. It is possible that he also may have been at St. Paul's. The name of a third of Crumpe's pupils has been preserved from the fact that as "porter boy" he received £4 in payment for two years in 1737, and that of James Strahan, a Fellow of Trinity Hall, has been gleaned from the lists of stewards of the school feast. The last name is that of Daniel Bellamy, a theological writer of sufficient note to deserve mention in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

GEORGE CHARLES, 1737-1748

The scanty information which is extant as to the state of the school during the high masterships of Morland and Crumpe turns, so far as the career of the high master is concerned, into an atmosphere of mystery as soon as one comes to deal with Crumpe's successor, George Charles. The date of his birth was either 1703 or 1704, consequently his age at his election to the high mastership in February 1737 was about thirty-four. Of his places of education nothing whatever is known.

That Charles was educated at some university appears almost certain from the fact that while he is referred to as "Mr Charles" in the Acts of Court of the Mercers' Company in 1741, in the following year he becomes known as Dr. Charles, while in 1743 there is an explicit reference to him as George Charles, LL.D. A careful search of the registers of the Universities has not revealed his name in the records of any of those of England, Ireland or Scotland.

The one fragment of information which is extant concerning his high mastership is to be found in a letter written in 1746¹ to an Old Pauline pupil, John Laurence, who had been sent from Pennsylvania to be educated at St. Paul's, and who afterwards became Judge of the Court of that plantation, and married a sister of Mrs. Penn.

From the list of Old Paulines printed in Ackerman's *History of the Public Schools*, it was known that Lord Frederick Campbell—the son of the fourth Duke of Argyll—was educated at St. Paul's by George Charles, and from this letter, written by the high master, it appears that his brother, "your School-fellow Jack Campbell," was also an Old Pauline.

John Campbell, who was born in 1723, rose to the rank of lieutenant-colonel at the age of twenty-two, and distinguished himself in Scotland in "the forty-five." An account of this is given in the high master's letter. In 1767 he became commander-in-chief in Scotland. Three years later he succeeded to the title of Duke of Argyll, having been created a peer of Great Britain as Lord Sunbridge four years earlier. He received a field-marshal's baton in 1796, and died in 1806, at the age of eighty-three, being the senior officer in the British Army.

Readers of Boswell will remember the account of Dr. Johnson's visit to the Duke of Argyll at Inverary Castle, to which a certain piquancy is given by the details of the marked discourtesy with which for political reasons the Duchess, who was one of "the beautiful Miss Gunnings," treated the great man's biographer.

It is most probable that Lord Henry Campbell, the Duke's brother, was also at St. Paul's. He was *aide-de-camp* to General Ligonier, and was killed in 1747 at the battle of Lafeldt. No doubt, however, exists as to Lord

¹ *Pauline*, vol. xii., No. 68, May, 1894, p. 101.

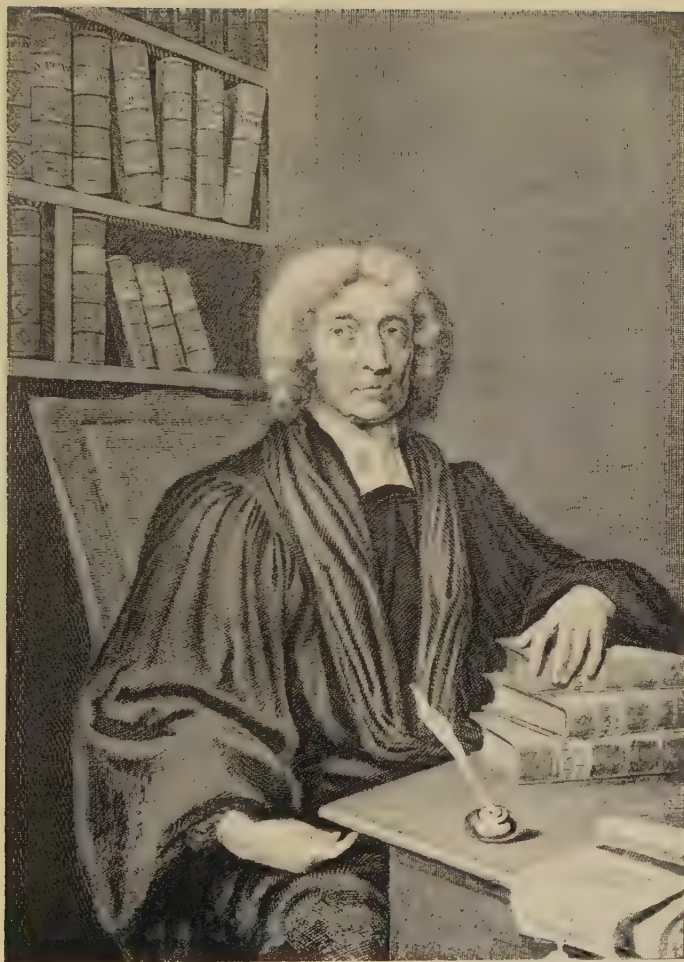
Frederick Campbell having been at St. Paul's. From school he went to Christ Church, and was called to the Bar. For many years he sat in Parliament, and became Privy Councillor and Keeper of the Privy Seal for Scotland. In 1767 he was Chief Secretary for Ireland, and had a seat in the Irish House of Commons, and in the following year he was appointed Lord Clerk Register for Scotland.

In addition to having educated a man who, as we have seen, lived to be the senior officer in the British Army, George Charles, curiously enough, educated at St. Paul's a man who survived to be the oldest captain in the Royal Navy. This was Sir Alexander Schomberg, who entered the navy in 1743. He served under Admiral Boscawen at the reduction of Louisbourg, and was closely associated with Wolfe at Quebec in 1759. He was knighted by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1777, and survived till 1804.

Of the two pupils of Dr. Charles who are known to have held college fellowships, John Parkhurst of Clare, who was also educated at Rugby, became a well-known Hebrew scholar and biblical lexicographer. Another Old Pauline, John Carr by name, was a well-known translator of Lucian. He is said to have been a candidate for the high mastership of St. Paul's on the resignation of Dr. Thicknesse, and to have failed through the fact that he had no university degree. He became head master of Hertford Grammar School, and was granted an LL.D. *Honoris causa* by Marischal College, Aberdeen, in recognition of his classical scholarship.

The first record of a disagreement between Charles and the Mercers occurs in the minutes of a Court of Assistants¹ on March 20, 1740, according to which "The Court ordered that the Masters of the School return to their ancient method of Breaking up & coming to School again and that no alteration of that kind or otherwise be made in

¹ MS. in possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.



[G. Vertue sc.]

JOHN STRYPE

Antiquary.

[To face p. 320.]

the School without the Leave of this Court." On March 10 in the following year the Court "ordered that Mr Charles the High Master of Paul's School do forthwith give Jonathan Collyer Esqre. the Surveyor Accomptant of Paul's School, a List of all the Names of the Children that appeared in the School on Thursday last or since, describing under which Master's care and what Form they are in. And it is ordered that the several Masters in the School do at the Apposition yearly give a List of the Scholars under their respective care."

Unfortunately, none of these lists compiled during the interval which elapsed before Charles was superseded by Thicknesse are extant, but that the order was complied with is evident from the following entry, dated March 24, 1742: "The Court Enquired of Dr Charles how it came about that the Boys in the 5th and 6th Forms were heard together, he informed them there were so few Boys in the 6th Form he had moved the best of them into the 7th and the Juniors into the 5th, but that soon He intended to make up a 6th Form by removing the Boys. And the Court Admonished him to be in the School from 7 to 11 in the Forenoon and from 1 to 5 in the Afternoon, both Winter and Summer Holydays excepted." Similar directions as to the hours of attendance were given to "the Revd. John Clark the Sur Master," and to "Mr George Thicknesse the Chaplain."

In the transcript from the Mercers' minutes, from which quotations as to the state of the school have been made recording events in 1740 and the two following years, there is a lacuna extending from 1742 to 1747 which may have some significance in view of circumstances of which there is a record in another source.¹ From this it appears that in an old cash-book of the surveyor accountant of the school in

¹ Rep. of Char. Commrs., May 1, 1820, vol. iii. pp. 230 *seq.*

the year 1713-14 there was a balance due from the company to the school of £13,571 7s. 4½d., while by the year 1745 the debt owing by the company to the school estate had risen to £34,637 15s. The explanation offered for this dealing with trust funds was that the Mercers' Company had in the preceding century suffered the loss of moneys lent to King Charles and to the Parliament, and had incurred a heavy debt amounting altogether to more than £100,000, by having to bear half the cost of rebuilding the Royal Exchange and other works, and that they had increased their liabilities by a scheme for granting annuities to the widows of subscribers, which had been started in the hope of retrieving their loss. There can be little doubt that speculation in the South Sea Bubble craze of 1721 had also contributed to the embarrassments of the Mercers, which they endeavoured to tide over by the use which they made of the funds of St. Paul's School.

The disapproval entertained for Dr. Charles by the Mercers' Company culminated in his dismissal after a few years in the high mastership.

The minute of a Court of Assistants held on February 4, 1747, records¹ that "The Court taking into consideration Dr Charles's Refusal to resign his place according to the Ordinances of the Founder and the Explanation thereof unanimously Resolved that the Master give him Warning quietly to depart the School and School House in Six Months from this day in the following words Viz. : Sir You having refused to resign your Place of High Master of Pauls School according to the Ordinances of Dean Colet the Founder and the Explanation thereof made in 1602 This Court doth give you Warning quietly to depart this School and School House in Six Months from this Day Which Warning Mr Deputy Daye in the Chair read to Dr Charles in the presence

¹ MS. in possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.

of the Court." The aid of the Court of Arches is said to have been invoked for the purpose of removing the high master, but concerning the details of this no evidence is available.

On leaving St. Paul's, Dr. Charles became private secretary to William Henry Zuylestein, Earl of Rochford, who went in the following year as Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to the King of Sardinia at Turin. It is not known how long Charles retained this position. The Earl of Rochford returned to England in 1754.

Dr. Charles' handwriting is said to bear a strong resemblance to that of "Junius," and it is worthy of mention that the Earl of Rochford is one of the few men of note mentioned by "Junius" without condemnation.

Entries in the Calendars of Home Office Papers¹ certainly suggest the performance of some secret service by the retired school-master, for we find that on June 15, 1763, "A pension of £1,000 per annum for 31 years was granted to George Charles Esq., his executors etc. of Leicester Fields."

This pension appears to have been charged upon the Irish Establishment, for some years later occurs a record² of a King's Letter to the Treasury in Ireland remitting the tax of 4*s.* in the pound payable by Dr. Charles.

There are also extant letters written from Leicester Square³ by Dr. Charles to the Earl of Rochford relating to the appointment of a minister to the living of Fordoun in Kincardineshire, to which a Mr. Alexander Lestie was recommended. Finally, it appears from despatches⁴ sent by Lord Townshend, the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, to Lord Rochford on December 5, 1771, that a Money Bill in the Irish House of Commons

¹ Cal. of Home Office Papers, 1760-65, p. 375.

² *Ibid.*, 1770-72, pp. 406, 636, Feb. 17, 1769.

³ *Ibid.*, 1770-72, pp. 222, 237, Mar. 30, 1771.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 1770-72, p. 334.

which was passed in that year excepted George Charles, together with Prince Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, the Duke and Duchess of Atholl, and Sir Edward Hawke from paying the tax of 4s. in the pound if exempted by His Majesty's sign manual.

Records have been preserved¹ to show that Charles produced further King's Letters for this purpose on March 8, 1771, on March 31, 1772, and again on March 23, 1774.²

The *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1788³ contains this obituary notice: "December 10. At Charles Bedford's Esq. in Brixton Causeway, in his 85th year, George Charles Esq. He was formerly preceptor to the Duke of Cumberland, and in consequence of being in that office had a pension of £300 a year."

No trace of a will which might throw some light on this mysterious career has been found. It has been suggested to me by the Rev. R. J. Walker, that a son of the high master may possibly be identified in the George Charles, a bookseller and publisher at Alloa, who, in 1817, brought out a *History of the Transactions in Scotland in 1715-16 and 1745-46*, concerning the adventures of Prince Charles after Culloden.

It will be noticed that the *Gentleman's Magazine* speaks of Dr. Charles' pension as amounting to £300 a year. From the Home Office Papers which we have quoted it appears that in 1763, when a pension of £1,000 a year was granted to Charles, pensions of £2,000 a year were awarded to the Duke and Duchess of Athol and to Sir Edward Hawke respectively. It is difficult to suppose that a pension of exactly one half the amount granted to a great nobleman and a distinguished naval commander was awarded to Charles merely for his services as tutor to a young prince.

It has hitherto been supposed that the Duke of Cumber-

¹ Cal. of Home Office Papers, 1770-72, pp. 406, 636.

² *Ibid.*, 1773-75, p. 307.

³ p. 1130.

land, to whom Dr. Charles was tutor, was William Augustus, the third son of George II by Caroline of Anspach, who was born in 1720, and to whom therefore Charles acted as tutor before being appointed to St. Paul's.

As a matter of fact, his pupil was Henry Frederick, Duke of Cumberland, who was born in 1745, and it therefore appears that Charles obtained his post in the Royal household after his return from Turin with the Earl of Rochford. Charles' pupil was a son of Frederick, Prince of Wales, by Augusta of Saxe-Coburg, and was therefore a brother of George III. It is most probable that Dr. Charles was also tutor to William Henry, Duke of Gloucester, who was only two years older than the Duke of Cumberland.

The Duke of Cumberland's strait-laced mother kept him as a boy under such severe discipline that when he was released from her control he became notorious for excesses. In 1770 his brothers had to assist him in finding £10,000, which Richard, first Earl Grosvenor had recovered against him for *Crim. Con.* with the Countess Grosvenor.

The *Oxford Magazine* for that year proves that the late high master had been tutor to this notorious libertine and not to his earlier namesake, as has hitherto been supposed, for in the course of the volume, which is full of somewhat coarse persiflage at the expense of the guilty parties, there occurs what purports to be a letter to the Duke from "Dr Charles Junior." The letters between the guilty parties which were put in evidence in the case were very ill-spelt, and the same volume¹ also contains a caricature in which Dr. Charles, above whose head a birch-rod hangs on the wall, is represented as teaching spelling to his Royal pupil, while an imp takes a letter from the Duke to his mistress, and the devil puts a fool's cap upon his head. Dr. Charles is represented in bag-wig cassock and bands as though he

¹ *Oxford Magazine*, vol. v., 1770, p. 88.

were a clergyman. It is unfortunate that the nature of the remark which is represented as proceeding from the devil's mouth, makes the caricature unsuitable for reproduction.

The last phase in the history of the Duke of Cumberland with which we need concern ourselves occurred in 1771, when his clandestine marriage with Mrs. Horton led to the passing of the Royal Marriage Act of 1772.

In view of what has been said concerning Charles and "Junius," it is worth attention that in "Junius'" letter, signed "Cumbrensis," written in November 1771, in which the writer congratulates the Royal bridegroom, reference is made to "the uncommon education which your royal mother took care to give you."

It must be confessed that there are features in the history of George Charles which tend to make one disregard one half of the advice given by Lord Beaconsfield to a young man on the threshold of life, who had asked for some maxims of conduct, and to whom the Prime Minister replied, "If you are to succeed, never wish to discover the identity of the Man in the Iron Mask, and on no account inquire who wrote the letters of 'Junius.'"

The high mastership of George Charles is remarkable for the fact that in 1743 the first printed catalogue of the school library, apart from that in Knight's *Colet*, was issued. In this it is stated that, "all, or the greatest part, of the Books which have not the names of the Benefactors annexed or References thereto have been purchased since that Time (the great fire) by the Masters of the School, with the surplus of the Candle Money."

From this, we may remark in parenthesis, it appears that the boys at this time did not bring their own wax candles to the school, but bought them from some one at the school, probably the poor scholar or "porter-boy."

This catalogue contains the names of 830 volumes,

showing an increase of nearly 170 in the nineteen years which had elapsed since the compilation of the list printed by Knight. Some part of this increase was no doubt due to the bequest of fifty guineas received by the school library in 1741 from a distinguished Old Pauline, Sir Nathaniel Lloyd, Master of Trinity Hall. The school accounts show that in the year after this bequest had been paid, £12 9s. were spent on binding and gilding books, and the bill, amounting to £10 15s., is extant for printing and stitching three hundred copies of the catalogue, specimens of which are in the British Museum and at the school.

From the evidence given by the Mercers' Company to a Royal Commission in 1820¹ it appears that the salaries of the high master, surmaster and usher remained unchanged during the whole of the first half of the eighteenth century, a period which may be taken as practically covering the high masterships of Postlethwayt, Ayscough, Morland, Crumpe and Charles.

During the years from 1700 to 1749 the high master was paid £169 6s. 8d., of which £36 represented the statutory salary at a mark a week, and the value of a livery gown, as provided by the founder. The remainder of this sum was made up of gratuities paid by the Mercers at intervals during the year.

The surmaster's salary during the period named was £86 a year and the under usher, or chaplain, as he appears to have been called once again from 1713 to 1748, was paid during the stated period £51 13s. 6d. per annum.

The decline of St. Paul's in the middle of the eighteenth century synchronized with the period at which the Universities reached the lowest depth of attainments and discipline. Lord Chesterfield, writing of Oxford and Cambridge in 1749, said that "the one is sunk into the lowest obscurity,

¹ App. to 3rd Rep. of Commissioners of Charities, 1820.

and the existence of Oxford would not be known if it were not for the treasonable spirit publicly avowed, and often excited there."

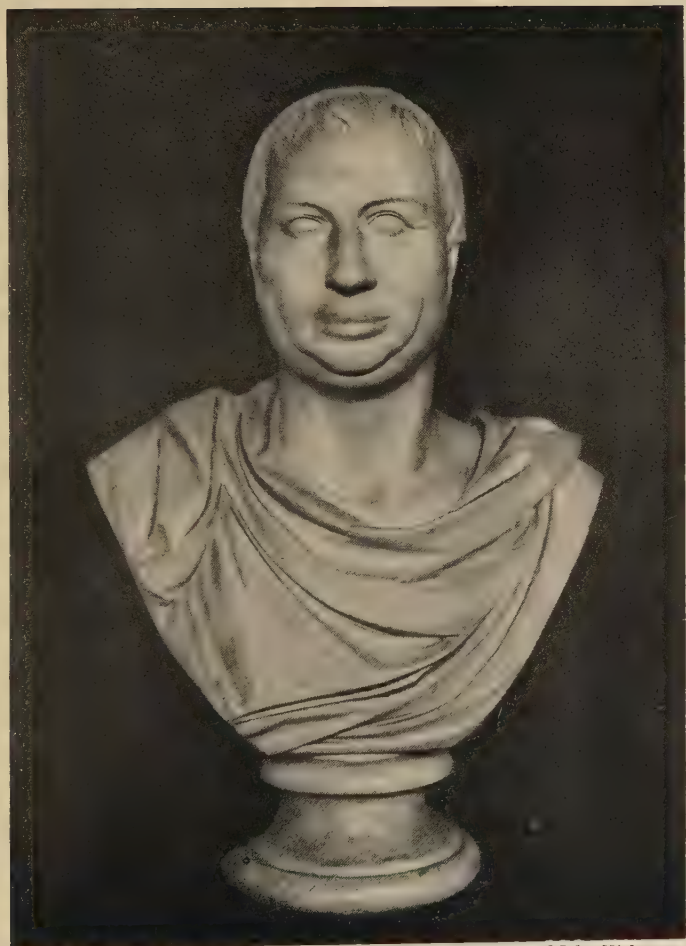
The decrease in the number of boys at St. Paul's also finds numerous parallels in the history of the other public schools at about the same time.

In 1720 there were 353 boys at Eton College. There were fifty fewer names "in the bill" in the year after the South Sea Scheme of 1721. By 1740 the numbers had dwindled to 170. Twenty-five years later the numbers had risen to 522, but in 1773 they had once more dropped to 230, while in 1791 only fifty-five collegers were to be found in the seventy places on the foundation.

Winchester almost at the same time suffered so great an eclipse that in 1751 it included only eight commoners, while in 1793 the whole number of boys in the school, including scholars, was only sixty, although, as at Eton, the statutory number of scholars alone was seventy.

In 1721 there were 144 boys at Harrow, but there, too, the numbers steadily dwindled until the year 1746. Merchant Taylors' in 1760 contained only 116 boys instead of the statutory 250, while the numbers at Rugby in 1778 had shrunk to fifty-two.

Westminster alone maintained its numerical position. The decline in its numbers came early in the nineteenth century.



[John Hickey sc.]

GEORGE THICKNESSE, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

[To face p. 328.]

CHAPTER XVIII

‘THE SECOND FOUNDER’

GEORGE THICKNESSE, HIGH MASTER 1748-1769

WITH the removal of Charles from the high mastership St. Paul's entered on a new career of prosperity. His successor, George Thicknesse, was the third son of John Thicknesse, rector of Farthinghoe, in Northamptonshire. His family, which came from Staffordshire, was not undistinguished, and one of his brothers was the well-known Philip Thicknesse, Governor of Landguard Fort, while another brother, Ralph by name, was an assistant master at Eton, who would undoubtedly have become Provost after Dr. Snape, but for his sudden death in 1742 at a concert at Bath, where he was playing first fiddle in a piece of music of his own composition.

George Thicknesse was educated on the foundation at Winchester. He did not proceed to New College, Oxford, and his name does not occur in the lists of graduates of either university. The biographers of Sir Philip Francis, whose account of the high master is very full, state that he graduated at Cambridge, after which "he was first an usher at Clare's Academy in Soho Square." The account goes on to say that "having the reputation of being one of the best classical scholars in England he opened an establishment for the tuition of youth in Charterhouse Square."

According to the registers of Winchester College, Thicknesse was baptized in 1714. He must, therefore, have

been about twenty-three years of age on his appointment as chaplain, six months after George Charles' election as high master. He held the chaplaincy for seven years, and in 1744 was elected surmaster. He is the last surmaster who has been promoted to the high mastership.

The great problem which confronted the new high master was that of filling the vacant places in the school, the number of boys in which had fallen to thirty-five. Within two months of his election he drew up a list of the boys, with the dates of their admissions, and in the following year a resolution of the Mercers' Company directed the high master to deliver yearly to the surveyor accountant a list of the scholars. These lists are extant up to the present time, but covering as they do less than a half of the time which has passed since the foundation of the school by Colet, there must be a large number of Paulines of more or less distinction all traces of whose education at the school has been lost.

We have seen that in 1742 the fifth and sixth forms had been amalgamated for lack of boys. Even in 1749 there was no material out of which to make a seventh or an eighth, so that the head of the sixth, a boy of fourteen, became captain. To remedy this state of affairs, according to the Mercers' minutes,¹ at a Court held on October 21, 1748, "The following written paper was presented to this Court by Wm. Dunster Esqr. Surveyor of Paul's School which was read and is in the words following vizt.—

"Mercers Hall *London* 21st. Octr. 1748.

"Doctor John Colet Dean of St. Paul's about the year 1512 erected a Grammar School near the East end of Paul's Church for One Hundred and Fifty three Children to be taught Gratis And He committed the Care of the said

¹ MS. in the possession of Rev. R. J. Walker.

School to the Masters Wardens and Court of Assistants of the Company of Mercers of London who have lately made such Regulations in the said School that it is hoped it will soon regain its former Flourishing State. This Publication is made that the Inhabitants of London and others may have the benefits of this Generous and Useful Foundation according to the design of the Worthy Founder Who has made a very ample provision for the several Masters. They are therefore obliged by the Orders of the Court of Assistants agreeable to the Founders intentions not to demand or take any Money or Reward from the Parents or Friends of the Scholars but such as is allotted for Enterance which is one Shilling For encouragement of such Scholars that are dilligent and improve in their Learning upon proper Certificates thereof and where it is needful the said Court of Assistants will grant Exhibitions for their Maintenance when they are fitt to go to one of the Universities. For admittance of Scholars and further Information Apply to the Clerk of the said Company of Mercers at their Hall in Cheapside London.

“By Order of the said Court of Assistants

“CHAR: CRUMPE.

“After reading thereof the Court Ordered that the same be published in the *Daily Advertizer* and *General Advertizer* three times in each paper for the Information of the Citizens of London and others.”

The results of this notice and the efforts of Thicknesse were such that in a single year the full statutory number of boys were in the school, and in June 1749 the Mercers had to pass a vote for extraordinary assistance to the usher owing to the undue number of boys in the lower forms.

A hundred and twenty-four boys entered the school in 1748, according to the registers, though the biographers of

Sir P. Francis say there were 145 entries in that year. Fifty-seven entered the school in 1749, and in 1750 thirty-three were admitted on the foundation, and twelve others in addition, while five years later the number of non-foundationers admitted within twelve months was exactly double that number. The admission of boys other than foundation scholars continued annually until the end of the eighteenth century, a large proportion were passed on to the foundation after having been in the school for two or three years.

It will not be out of place to give here some statistics of the school, derived from the registers, which begin at this time, dealing with the twenty-one years of Thicknesse's high mastership, which lasted from 1748 to 1769. The total number of boys admitted on the foundation was 947, making an average of forty-seven admissions a year, if we exclude 1748, the first year of his high mastership, in which the numbers of the foundation were filled by making 124 entries into the school. Taking the average of admissions as forty-seven, the mean duration of school life was somewhat less than three and a quarter years. Although the average age of admission was about ten, the minimum age was seven, and consequently a number of boys must have left the school at a very early age.

Though the number of boys in the upper classes increased, the total number of names in the first and second classes comprised about half of the school. The third and fourth comprised another quarter of the school, leaving about a quarter of the school for the four upper classes, each numbering about ten boys, which were at this time all under the high master.

In addition to the boys on the foundation, the school, as we have seen, comprised a number of non-foundationers. The details of these in the registers are very scanty, and the

lists are probably incomplete. Only their names are given, all mention of their ages or of their parentage being omitted. Of these, 133 were admitted during Thicknesse's term of office. Sixty-six, or almost exactly one half, were subsequently admitted to the foundation ; of those who did not gain admission to the foundation few reached the upper school. The years in which vacancies for the foundation were few are those, as might be expected, in which the number of non-foundationers admitted was largest. In 1756, for example, only thirty-five boys were admitted to the foundation, the smallest number in any year during Thicknesse's rule, but twenty-four non-foundationers were admitted, while in the years 1753 and 1754, in which respectively sixty-two and fifty boys were admitted to the foundation, no boys other than foundation scholars were admitted to the school.

St. Paul's under Thicknesse was to a far greater extent a city school than it has ever been since under his successors.

Out of the 950 boys admitted to the school by Thicknesse, only sixty-five, or about three a year, were not Londoners. Of these, twenty-seven were the sons of country parsons, while another twenty of the boys admitted during this high mastership were the sons of London clergy.

No mention of a porter boy appears in the accounts from 1745 to 1753. In that year Robert Brampton, the captain, held the post. From this time, with the single exception of Alan Eccles, in 1757-58, the captain appears to have acted as the porter boy, the admission fees being, no doubt, paid to him, a man being employed to clean the school.

The scanty nature of the records of boys educated at St. Paul's before the middle of the eighteenth century is in marked contrast with the condition of things which prevails at most of the other public schools.

There is a complete register of scholars at Winchester from 1393 to the present day, and the earliest long roll containing the names of commoners is dated 1653.

The earliest Eton School list which has been preserved, bearing the date 1678, contains 207 names, and after that year there are few lacunæ in the set of lists which is extant at the present time.

The register of Rugby School begins in 1675, more than seventy years, that is to say, before that of St. Paul's. The full register of admission to college at Westminster begins in 1666, but from the lists of Queen's Scholars the names of more than 300 boys who were at Westminster before 1603 have been brought to light.

The probation book of Merchant Taylors' School begins in 1607, but a manuscript which has been preserved gives the names of 600 pupils of Richard Mulcaster, who was head master for twenty-five years. Mulcaster was high master of St. Paul's for nearly half as long as he was at Merchant Taylors', but the names of only thirty-seven of his Pauline pupils have been identified.

It is surprising in view of the fact that the full registers of St. Paul's begin roughly a century later than those of most other schools of similar importance, that the names of so many Old Paulines of distinction have been preserved, but the fact cannot diminish our regret that the full record of the pupils of some of the greatest of our high masters, Langley, Cromleholme, Gale and Postlethwayt, has not been discovered.

The chief sources of information from 1565 to 1749 are the lists of Pauline and of Campden Exhibitioners, but the first gives only 264 names, and the second, covering little more than a hundred years, contains less than 70 names.

Unlike some schools, such as Charterhouse, St. Paul's has no livings in the gift of the governors from which

further information can be gleaned, but some 180 names in the first half of the eighteenth century have been recovered from the lists of stewards of the school feasts.

The publication of college registers, notably those of St. John's and Caius at Cambridge, have added to our information, but for the rest there are no means of establishing the place of education of Paulines before the middle of the eighteenth century, except such things as family letters, statements in early biographies, epitaphs, casual references in State papers and oral tradition.

In an anonymous booklet entitled, *Sketches and characters of the most eminent and singular persons now living*, which from internal evidence appears to have been written by the high master's eccentric brother, Captain Philip Thicknesse, and which was published at Bristol in 1770, there is an interesting reference to George Thicknesse. Under the heading, "Of those who have made a mean and contemptible figure in some action and circumstance of their lives," appears the following—

"Mr. T*****sse, high master of St. Paul's School, when he declined accepting any pecuniary recompence from the parents of the many young gentlemen, bred up under his care for upwards of twenty years, which is what none of his predecessors did; but it is hoped, an example his successors will follow."

From this it appears that the high masters who preceded Thicknesse received gratuities from the parents of the boys in the school, but it must be admitted that apart from the Christmas gift of one guinea, which in Morland's time appears to have been considered *de rigueur*, and the prohibition of the practice by the Mercers in Gale's time, no other evidence of the custom is known to be extant.

One reason, perhaps, for Thicknesse's refusal to be beholden to the parents of his scholars is to be found in the

fact that in the year after his appointment to the high mastership the salaries of the masters, which had remained stationary for fifty years, were raised.

The high master after 1749 was paid £210 instead of £169 a year as heretofore.¹ The surmaster's payment was £120 instead of £86, and the salary of the usher was raised from £51 to £80 per annum, while at the same time the allowance made to each of the three for livery gowns was doubled.

Joshua Tillotson, who had been chaplain under Charles, became surmaster under Thicknesse. His successor, Samuel Ely, who was styled usher and not chaplain, is seen from the school accounts to have been occupying the high master's house in 1752, three years after his appointment. Philip Francis speaks of him as a boarding-house master, but it is not known whether he kept the house for the high master or had a few boarders in his own small house adjoining the surmaster's. He died in 1761, and was succeeded by William Rider, who, on the death of Tillotson two years later, was promoted to the surmastership, and combined with that office the post of chaplain to the Mercers' Company. He edited an English dictionary, a family Bible in three volumes, and a history of England, and retained his post at St. Paul's for over twenty years, surviving Thicknesse and working under Roberts for sixteen years.

Joseph Champion, who was an Old Pauline educated under George Charles, was "Accomptant and Writing Master to St. Paul's School" in 1751. The writing of his pupils was so much alike that it became known as the "Pauline hand." Among the boys whom he taught were Philip Francis and H. S. Woodfall, afterwards the editor of the *Public Advertiser*, in which the "Letters of Junius" appeared.

In 1755 Thicknesse revived the school feast which had

¹ App. to 3rd Rep. on Chars., 1820.

been in abeyance for twenty-seven years, no celebration having occurred during the high masterships of Crumpe or Charles.

In that year a pompous, high-flown sermon was preached by Dr. John Fearon, sometime Fellow of Sidney, and private chaplain to a noble lady, in which he spoke of "friends long endeared to each other coming to this voluntary assembly to interchange & communicate a generous gratulation." The sermon of the following year, preached by Daniel Bellamy, is not of any interest, but Thomas Fairchild, who preached in 1757, declared that "Our grateful sentiments must be extended to those who have provided to the enlarging this plan of education to a far superior degree, near twenty Exhibitions having been left to the disposal of the Mercers' Company for the benefit of the Students chosen to the Universities who might not otherwise have been able to have maintained themselves; the more peculiar of which are the benefactions of the Lord Campden and the Lady North, and some others which though numerous in themselves this body have most prudently consolidated."

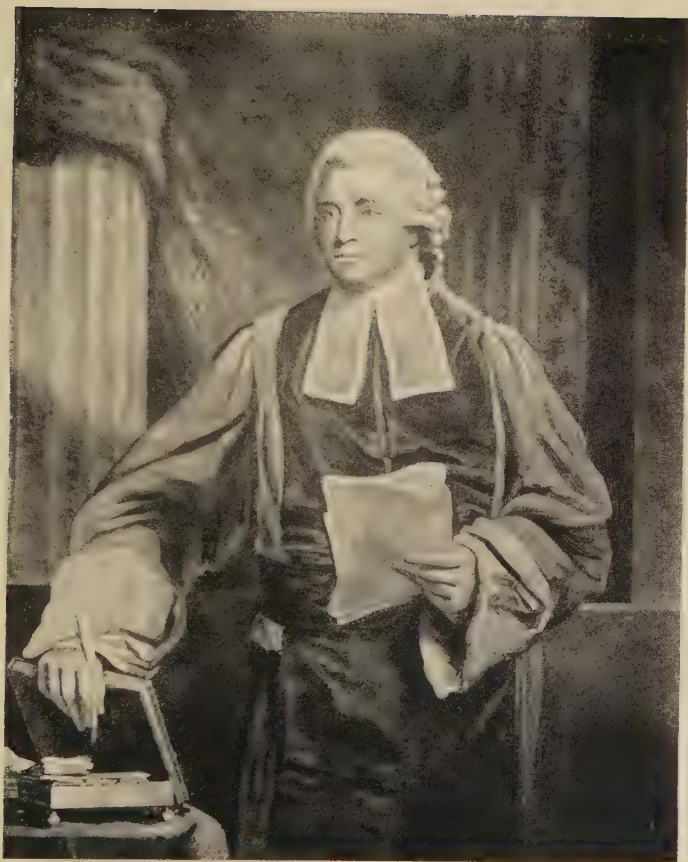
From this date none of the sermons have been found in print, and hence it has been conjectured that the school feast was discontinued in 1757 and was never again revived. That this was not the case is shown by the references in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes* to meetings in 1791 and 1792 in connection with the memorial bust of Thicknesse, the first of which is very explicit and undoubtedly refers to the annual school feast, speaking as it does of "a public meeting of 81 gentlemen at their anniversary on St. Paul's day January 25th."

A contemporary account of Thicknesse describes him as "a man of great learning wisdom and moderation. He considered boys as rational beings, and to be governed by

reason, not by the rod : and without its use that School by his incessant assiduity was raised to the highest reputation." It may be that it was this tender propensity of the high master, of which he heard from his intimate friend and medical attendant, Dr. Lawrence, President of the College of Physicians, whose son was at St. Paul's, that inspired Dr. Johnson to declare : "There is now less flogging in our great schools than formerly, but then less is learned there : so that what the boys gain at one end they lose at the other." Not even Johnson himself, however, could complain of the lack of education enjoyed by Soulden Lawrence. He was admitted to the school as a non-foundationer, but in two years passed on to the foundation, and seven years later proceeded with a Pauline Exhibition to St. John's College, Cambridge, where he graduated as seventh wrangler and was elected Fellow. Having practised successfully at the Bar and assumed the coif, he was elevated to the Bench, where he sat for more than a quarter of a century, first in the Common Pleas, then in the King's Bench, and then again in the Common Pleas. He gained the reputation of being a judge of great ability and independence of mind.

Thicknesse, who was never married, appears from a note by one of his old pupils, who speaks of him as "our beloved George Thicknesse," to have suffered from temporary mental derangement in the year 1759.¹ He had returned to his duties early in the following year, for the same writer recalls the fact of his presence at the Apposition of 1760. He retained his post for nine years longer, and appears to have deserved the eulogy pronounced upon him by the biographers of Sir Philip Francis, who declared that "he was a superior scholar, a sagacious, conscientious and

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1814, vol. lxxxiv. 2, 629.



J. Hoppner pinx.

[C. Turner sc.]

SIR SOULDEN LAWRENCE, JUSTICE OF THE KING'S BENCH

[To face p. 338.]

laborious tutor. A true disciplinarian, he was a just, kind, and considerate master beloved by his pupils. The Paulines of his mastership were reputed superior Latinists and Grecians, many of them in after life becoming eminent in the learned professions and successful in trade and commerce."

The Mercers' Company refused to accept the resignation of Thicknesse except on the one condition that he should nominate his successor, thereby paying him an even greater tribute than they had paid to Langley a hundred years earlier, when they appointed Cromleholme as his successor on the dying high master's unsolicited recommendation.

He retired with a pension of £100 a year from the Mercers' Company, and lived in a country house in Warwickshire with a Wykehamist school-fellow until the death of the latter two years later. He then became the tenant of the manor house of Arlescote, where he remained until his death, in the enjoyment of an annuity of £50, settled upon him by his Warwickshire friend, in addition to the pension which he drew from the Mercers' Company.

An autograph letter from Sir Philip Francis, dated from Upper Harley Street, January 20, 1785, which is preserved in the school library, deserves quotation *in extenso* for more reasons than one.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I received the favour of your letter, with a real sensation of Pleasure, but not unmixed with some uneasiness. I cannot but feel, that it was *my* part and Duty to have recalled myself long ago to your Remembrance. But tho' I condemn myself for Neglect, believe me I have never ceased to think of you, as of my Friend and Benefactor.

You have the best Claim to my Gratitude & a Right to every Service in my Power.

"I called at your Brother's lodgings yesterday, wishing to see him before I answered Your Letter ; but he was not at home. Not knowing the Situation of his son I have no Idea how I can be of use to him. You will easily conceive that, in the present Circumstances I can have no Interest with the Admiralty & I can assure you that my Interest at the India House is worse than negative. In that quarter I and all who belong to me are proscribed. I did what I could to save the Body Corporate from Ruin and that was not the way to gain the Friendship of individuals. Mr. Hastings took the opposite course and has succeeded accordingly. I cannot but be touched with the account you give me of your own Situation. I well know how heavily the public Burthens press in every Sense and Direction on moderate and even upon considerable Fortunes ; at least such as used to be thought so. The Idea of Your being forced to quit a House which I am told you find comfortable makes me very uneasy ; and you will do me a great favour, if you will allow me to obviate the necessity of such a step ; which I seriously believe you would not feel more than I should. For the purpose of answering the last taxes I have taken the liberty of inclosing to you a Bank Note of twenty Pounds which in future as long as You and I live, You shall regularly receive in the beginning of every Year. I entreat you not to refuse this little mark of my Gratitude and affection for you ; and much more earnestly do I intreat you, not to attribute this offer to any motive, that ought to disincline you to me.

"I shall learn from your brother what parts of my Speeches he has sent you in order that I may supply you with the remainder. If there be any good in them I deem it to be principally due to your early Instruction. I mean

to send you from time to time anything that may be worth your notice or likely to amuse you.

"I am with the sincerest Affection and Esteem

" Dear Sir

" Your most obliged and faithful servant

" P. FRANCIS.

"I beg of you to make whatever Use of my Privilege you think fit without the smallest scruple.

" Mr. George Thicknesse."

The occasion of this letter was in part Thicknesse's approaching removal from the house at Mollington, where he had resided since the death of his friend, Mr. Holbeach. The letter is inserted in a copy of *Original Minutes of the Governor-General and Council of Fort William*, a companion volume to which is a collection of the speeches of Francis from 1784 to 1786, containing a few notes and corrections in the author's handwriting. Their presence in the library at the school is explained by a letter from Thicknesse written nearly twenty years after his retirement and four years before his death to his successor, Richard Roberts, which is also preserved.

" DEAR SIR,

" This parcel comes to you with my earnest wish that the contents of it may be carefully preserved in the library of St. Paul's School in which I promise myself you will oblige me, when you have read the manuscript letter within the Quarto. Whatever sentiments you may have in this dispute about Mr. Hastings (for I find there is now variety in it) yet I beg you would indulge me with the treasuring these writings and Speeches, which come from my friend Mr. Francis. You will think, I am sure, they come from a very able hand, and I think a very honest one.

I guess too, if you form any judgement at all about Indian affairs, we do not much differ in our opinions about Mr. H. or any of his predecessors. I hear of you now and then when a Paul's scholar calls on me, or when your examiner, whose name I cannot now recollect, sometimes calls on me. I beg you would mention me to your Brother, with great regard, and believe me to be, dear Sir,

"Your very affectionate

"and very humble servant

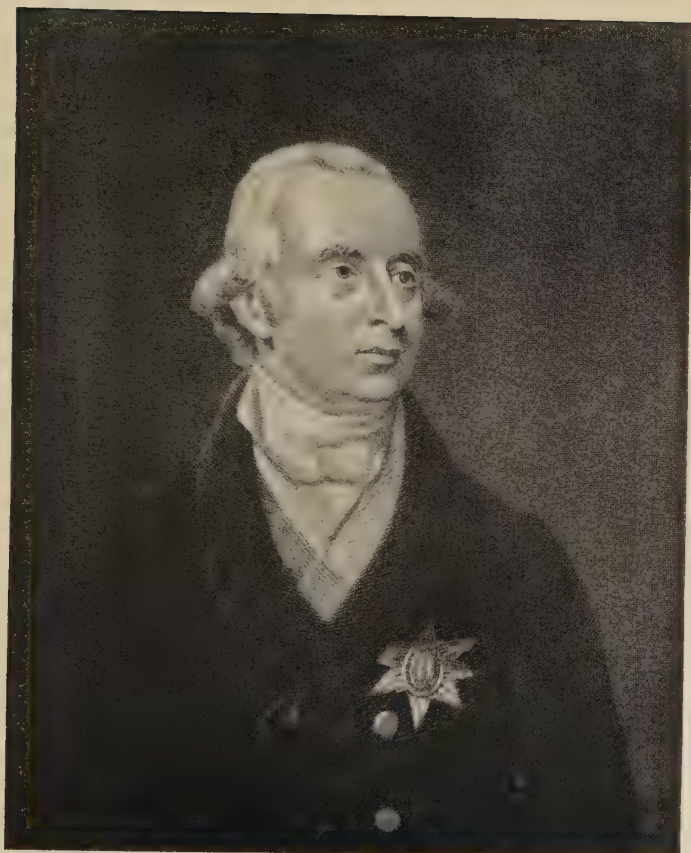
"GEORGE THICKNESSE.

"Arescote (*sic* for Arlescote)

"Jan. 17, 1787."

The somewhat singular provisions which Thicknesse left concerning his burial, are to be found in Nichols' *Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth Century*.¹ "Humility distinguished every part of his life, but particularly the last act of it; for he directed his body to be put into a common coffin, like a common man, (for such, said he, I am,) and to be buried on the north side of Warmington churchyard, without any memorial to mark the spot; where (to use the words of Sir Philip Francis, K.B., who was his scholar) the wisest, the most learned, quiet, and the best man he ever knew was laid. His virtues made those who were connected with him happy; his temper made himself so. That vulgar celebrity which men call fame he regarded with indifference. . . . But while he lived he heard with pleasure that his name was remembered with an affectionate veneration by his numerous scholars at their annual meetings. Though he is now beyond the reach of their gratitude, his claim to it did not end with his life. Something remained to be done for an example to those who come after us, to unite the memory of this incomparable man with the existence of that school,

¹ Vol. ix. p. 255.



J. Hoppner pinx.]

[*H. Adlard sc.*

SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, K.C.B.

[*To face p. 342.*

and to preserve them together as long as learning shall exist in this kingdom. This grateful duty was performed in 1791, when at a public meeting of eighty-one gentlemen at their anniversary on St. Paul's day, January 25, it was unanimously resolved 'That a public testimony should be given of their respect to the memory of the late Rev. George Thicknesse, and of their veneration for his name: that a marble bust be carved at the expense of the meeting, and placed in the body of the school; and that it be earnestly recommended to the present and all future Masters of the school, to instruct the scholars of the upper classes, to make honourable mention of the name and character of Mr. Thicknesse immediately after that of Dean Colet, in their annual speeches delivered in the school at Easter.'"

The outcome of this resolution is to be found in a letter from Sir Philip Francis to Edmund Burke, dated January 21, 1792.

"MY DEAR MR. BURKE,¹

"I am sure I need make no apology for requesting you to assist me in an act of piety and gratitude to the memory of one of the best and most learned men of his time, the late Mr. George Thicknesse. In the narrow sphere allotted to him, I can affirm with certainty that it was impossible to exhibit greater qualifications of every kind, or to do more good to mankind, than he did. Judge not of his learning and abilities, though you may of his virtue and wisdom, by the obscurity in which he passed this life, and escaped out of it *Natus moriensque fefellit*.

"'He claimed no honour from descent of blood,
But that which made him noble, made him good.'

"In the little circle of his friends I never knew a man

¹ *Correspond. of the Rt. Hon. Edm. Burke.*, ed. by Earl Fitzwilliam and Sir R. Bourke, 1844, vol. iii. pp. 376-8.

so much respected. By his scholars universally he was beloved and revered. Even they who neglected his instructions, or forgot his precepts, were tenderly and dutifully attached to his person. Your friend Hickey has succeeded in the bust beyond my expectation ; considering that he had nothing but a very indifferent old picture to copy from, and had never seen the original. The performance does him so much credit, and he has taken such pains with it, that we, the managers, are perfectly satisfied, and have agreed for his honour, to let it appear at the exhibition, before it is erected in the school. Some of us pretended scholars have been humming our brains for an inscription ; but what signifies malleation without fire ? Be so good as to lend us a little of yours. One of the faults of the inclosed essays is, that it is too long for the tablet. Do you see if you can mend it, or make it better, and let me have your answer by to-morrow's or Monday's post. All this family, jointly and severally, desire their most affectionate duty and dutiful affection, to be presented to Mrs. Burke and yourself.

"Yours abundantly,

"P. FRANCIS.

"P.S. Observe, we are obliged to mix the honours of the school with the eulogy of one of its greatest masters, of whom, Lilly was the first, appointed by Dean Colet."

Burke's answer to this letter is to be found in the *Memoirs of Sir Philip Francis, K.C.B.*¹

"Monday Morning, January 23, 1792.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I thank you for the honour you have done me in thinking that my obsolete and worn-out ideas of classical expression can be of any use to you. Such as they are they

¹ Edited by J. Parkes and B. Merivale, 1867, vol. ii. p. 284.

are at your service. I have scribbled in your margin a trifling note or two. I have likewise scribbled over the same thoughts with yours, which I thought so far from contracting, to give a dignity to the subject, ought rather to be expanded. Certainly it is the very best style of antiquity, in all eulogies, to exalt the place of birth and education; and the dignity of the art in the object of an¹ . . . cultivated, and the splendour of his progenitors or predecessors. I think you have said more of Mr. Thicknesse in your conversations with me than is said in the inscription. I have endeavoured to express it. In the latter part I was interrupted by the bad news which takes me to town—the great danger of the life of an old and invaluable friend. If my stock was greater, the loss would still be most grievous. I can say, write, or think nothing more. Alas! All that is said there would be truly said upon another tomb.

“Dear sir,

“Very sincerely yours,

“EDM. BURKE.”²

After being shown in “the exhibition,” by which, no doubt, Francis meant the Royal Academy, the bust was placed in the great hall of the school. When the school was rebuilt in 1824, it was transferred to the high master’s house, and it was probably at this time that the inscription, the joint work of Francis and Burke, was lost. In Ackerman’s aquatint, dated 1816, a tablet appears hanging above the bust. The result of this loss was that the bust of Thicknesse became confounded in later years with one of his successor, Dr. Roberts. Thomas Hickey, a brother of John Hickey, the sculptor, painted a portrait of Roberts, and this fact led to confusion on the part of Nicholas Carlisle, who, in his *Endowed Grammar Schools*, published in

¹ Lacuna in the MS.

² *N. and Q.*, ser. 8. vol. ix. p. 148.

1818, speaks of a bust of Roberts by Hickey, with the result that an unnamed bust, bearing on the back the inscription "Nollekens Ft. 1813," which was, in fact, the bust of Roberts, passed current as that of Thicknesse, until Mr. R. J. Walker investigated the matter in 1895, and clinched his arguments on the one hand by showing the resemblance of the Nollekens bust to the portrait of Roberts, and, on the other, by the correspondence between the unsigned bust and that of which Malcolm speaks in *Londinium Redevivum*, where he says, "On the left side of the chair is a white marble bust of the late high master, Mr. Thicknesse, quite in the style of an ancient Roman, which was there placed by a voluntary subscription of his grateful scholars."

In 1752 the Mercers ordered that a gold medal, weighing $1\frac{1}{4}$ ounces, be given annually to the most deserving scholar. It is not known for how many years this award was continued, but it is an interesting fact that the medal gained in 1756 by Sir Philip Francis, at that time captain of the school, is still in the possession of his family, by the permission of whom a plaster cast of it was taken, which is to be seen in the school library.

An order of still more importance was made by the Mercers in the same year, by which they fixed the exhibitions at £20 a year, while two years later, in 1754, those which were awarded were raised, on the graduation of the exhibitioner at Oxford or Cambridge, to a sum of £30 a year. In the same year it was resolved by the Court of Assistants that, before proceeding to elect exhibitioners, "the high master shall be called in and asked as to the qualifications" of petitioners.

In 1766, by the will of the Rev. George Sykes, there were founded in memory of his brother, Arthur Ashley Sykes, whose career has been noticed among the pupils of Postlethwayt, four exhibitions tenable by Paulines at Corpus



J. Northcote, R.A., pinx.]

[R. Dunkarton sc.]

JOHN FISHER, BISHOP OF EXETER AND OF SALISBURY

[To face p. 346.]

College, Cambridge, and of the yearly value of £10, to be held during good behaviour until they were of M.A. standing.

In 1756, the library, which was at that time situated at the south end of the school-room adjoining the surmaster's house, was adorned with busts of Homer, Virgil, Milton, Bacon, Locke and Newton. Of these, that of Milton alone, if, indeed, it be the identical bust, survives. At a later date a bust of Colet, by Mr. Fournier, was added, as were also those of four Old Paulines, Marlborough, Camden, Halley, and Robert Nelson.

A far more important gift to the library was made by a boy in the school in 1759, who presented the MS. of Dean Colet's abstract of the *Hierarchies of Dionysius*. Nothing more than this is known concerning the acquisition by the school of this, the only MS. of the founder, which is in the library : and of the donor, Robert Emmot, the son of a hat-maker in the Borough, the only information which we possess is gleaned from a passing reference by one W. P., in a number of the *Gentleman's Magazine* half a century later,¹ in which the writer says that when he left St. Paul's at the Apposition of 1760, the three boys who were above him, and whom he had never seen since that date, were Iltyd Nichol, the captain, Emmot and Toosey.

Another interesting relic of this period possessed by the library consists of the edition of 1750, in six volumes, of the translation of the *Iliad* for which Pope was

“Indebted to no Prince or Peer alive,”

which contains the autographs of Dr. Francis, the translator of *Horace*, and of his son, Sir Philip Francis, who signs himself in each volume “of *St. Paul's School*, 1754.” A further interest is attached to these volumes, which must have been used by Thicknesse's distinguished pupil in his

¹ Vol. clxxxiv., pt. ii. p. 629.

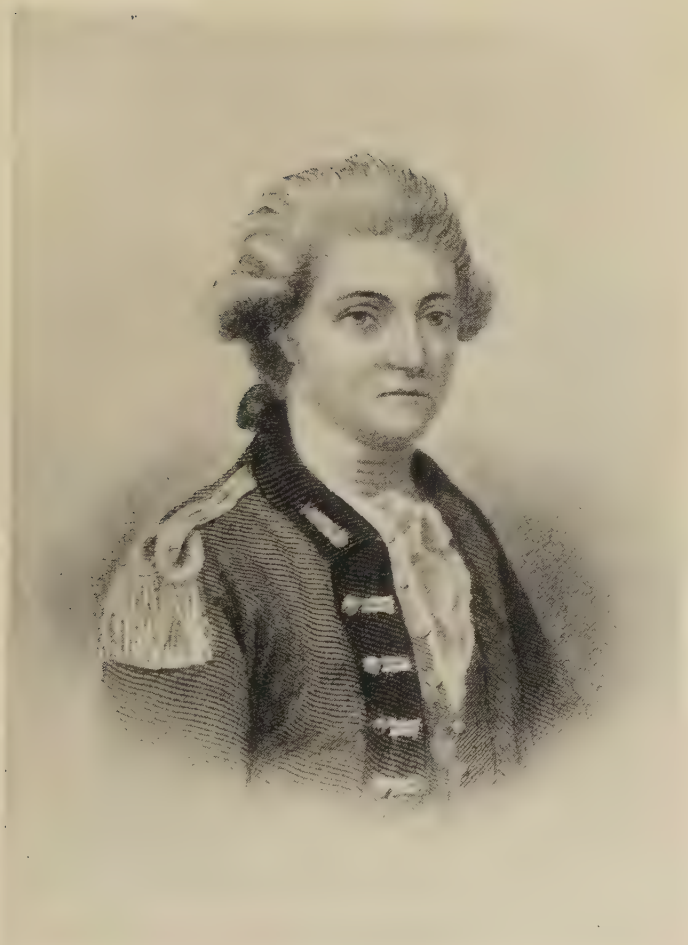
second year at St. Paul's, from the fact that they were presented to the school by his grandson, Mr. Philip Francis.

In a volume of the periodical entitled, *The Universal Magazine of Knowledge and Pleasure*, there appears under the date March 17, 1768, a paragraph which deserves to be quoted as being the first known account in the public Press of an Apposition at St. Paul's. "Tuesday, the young Gentlemen on the foundation of St Paul's School were publicly examined in the different parts of literature ; after which the eight senior youths made several speeches in Latin, Greek and English before a numerous and polite assembly in the school ; one speech in particular, which was received with great applause, on the following question, viz. ' Ought virtue to show itself most in prosperity or adversity ? ' At the same time Mr Filmer, one of the senior scholars, was elected to Christ Church College, in Oxford, on the usual exhibition of that noble and well-endowed school."

There is reason to believe that Thicknesse revived the old tradition of acting at St. Paul's, but the only play of the production of which there is any record is the *Adelphi* of Terence, which was played on February 3, 1761.

One of the most distinguished of Thicknesse's pupils was John Fisher, who, after graduating while a Pauline Exhibitioner of Peterhouse as tenth wrangler, was elected Fellow of St. John's. He was soon after appointed a Royal Chaplain and Deputy Clerk of the Closet. Mrs. Piozzi describes him as "a charming creature generally known in society as the King's Fisher." His position as tutor to the Duke of Kent, the father of Queen Victoria, led to a lasting intimacy which is reflected in the personal reminiscences of childhood of the late Queen, written in 1872, which are prefixed to the recently issued volumes of her correspondence,¹

¹ *Letters of Queen Victoria*, ed. by Lord Esher and A. C. Benson, vol. i. p. 14.



Dodds del.

MAJOR JOHN ANDRÉ

[Cook sc.]

[To face p. 348.]

"I had a great horror of *Bishops* on account of their wigs and *aprons*, but recollect this being partly got over in the case of the then Bishop of Salisbury (Dr. Fisher) by his kneeling down and letting me play with his badge of Chancellor of the Order of the Garter." After occupying a prebendal stall at Windsor, Fisher went to Exeter, first as Archdeacon and then as Bishop, and from that See he was after four years translated to Salisbury, where he died eighteen years later in 1825. Samuel Parr wrote of him—

"Unsoiled by Courts and unseduced by zeal
Fisher endangers not the public weal."

Very different from that of Fisher was the career of the Old Pauline whose name, John Villette, occurs next to his in the admission registers. He spent over thirty years of his life as Ordinary of Newgate, and must have attended many hundreds of criminals to the scaffold, for in the eighteenth century, no less than two hundred crimes ranked as capital offences. There is every reason to suppose that he attended in his last moments an Old Pauline, William Jobbins by name, nineteen years of age, who in 1790 was hanged for arson and robbery.¹ He certainly ministered to Timothy Brecknock, a Westminster boy, and "Fighting Fitzgerald," an Etonian, who were hanged for murder four years earlier. Villette's reputation must rest on the testimonial of Dr. Johnson, to the effect that "his extraordinary diligence is highly praiseworthy, and merits a distinguished reward."

Two of the pupils of Thicknesse who entered the school within eight years of each other during the last years of this high mastership, lived to become distinguished commanders at sea at the time when naval supremacy was paramount in the struggle against Napoleon.

The elder of these, Sir Frederick Thesiger, the son of Lord Rockingham's private secretary, before entering the

¹ Nov. 20, 1790. Newgate Calendar.

British Navy was in the service of the East India Company, which he left to enter the Russian Navy, in which he rose to the rank of captain and fought against Sweden, gaining the order of knighthood of St. George of Russia. His knowledge of Russian proved very valuable to his own country on his entering its navy, and in his capacity of *aide-de-camp* to Viscount Nelson at the battle of Copenhagen, he was chosen by the admiral to convey the overtures for a truce to the Crown Prince of Denmark.

Admiral Sir Thomas Troubridge, who entered St. Paul's at the age of ten, left the school in the fifth form. He was in the navy in 1773, and probably went straight from school to sea. He was present as a prisoner on a French admiral's flagship at Lord Howe's famous engagement on June 1, 1794, and was prevented by ill fortune from taking part in the battle of the Nile. The high reputation which he had earned, and the great importance of his services in Mediterranean waters, where he blockaded Civita Vecchia, and took the city of Rome, earned for him in 1799 a baronetcy and the Sicilian Order of St. Ferdinand and of Merit. Shortly after he took his seat at the Board of Admiralty, and having attained the rank of rear-admiral, hoisted his flag on the *Blenheim*, which was lost with all hands in the Indian Ocean. Nelson bestowed on Troubridge what was, perhaps, the highest praise paid by him to any man when speaking of him in a private letter to Earl St. Vincent, he said, "I trust you will not take him from me. I know well he is my superior, and I often want his advice and assistance."

The name of Major John André, who was a pupil of Thickenesse, is for some unaccountable reason not to be found in the registers of the school. After leaving St. Paul's and completing his education at Geneva, he entered the army at the age of twenty in 1771, and by remarkably rapid promotion rose to be brigadier-major in nine years. He served



Sir William Beechey pin.x.]

[W. Holl sc.]

ADMIRAL SIR THOMAS TROUBRIDGE, BART.

[To face p. 350.]

as adjutant-general of the British forces serving under Sir Henry Clinton in America, and having been sent to conclude terms with General Arnold, who wished treacherously to betray West Point to the English, he was captured, tried as a spy and executed. Washington wished to concede to him that he should meet his death as a soldier by being shot, but sterner councils prevailed, and he was hanged after having said to the bystanders, "I have only to request the gentlemen present to bear testimony that I met my death as a brave man." The news of his death was received with great indignation in England, and as a mark of the universal respect in which his memory was held, his brother was made a baronet. Forty years later his body was transported to England and buried with great solemnity in Westminster Abbey, close to the monument executed by one of the brothers Adam, which George III had erected to his memory two years after his death. A memorial erected on the site of his gallows by an American citizen a hundred years after his death bears an inscription by Dean Stanley, which states,¹ "His death, though according to the stern code of war, moved even his enemies to pity, and both armies mourned the fate of one so young and so brave."

One of the earliest pupils of Thicknesse, William Parsons by name, became well known as an actor and as a painter. He was early discovered by Garrick, with whom he often acted at Drury Lane, his first appearance being in the part of Filch in *The Beggar's Opera*. His great success in depicting the characters of old men earned for him the title of "the Comic Roscius," and he is said to have been, in comedy, the worthy rival of Garrick.

In view of the interest always maintained by Sir Philip Francis in St. Paul's, comparatively little is known concerning his school-days. He entered in 1753, at the age of

¹ *Pauline*, vol. ix., No. 48, May 1891, p. 103.

twelve, and apparently boarded in the house of Samuel Ely, the usher, who may have maintained a separate boarding house at this date, although from the Mercers' accounts it appears that in 1752 he was living in the high master's house. In an undated letter, written apparently in the early part of the boy's school-days, Dr. Francis wrote to his son—

“I rejoice with you at being so long head of your class, and I hope you will enjoy your superiority over your class-fellows by condescension, compliance, and if they desire it by assisting them. . . . As to moving into a higher Form I could not wish you would press Mr Thicknesse by showing any impatience in your desire. Think, my dear Phil, that it is not being in any particular place, but the figure you shall make there, that gives the distinction of honour.” The boy's eagerness to move rapidly up the school was satisfied, as appears from the fact that in the school lists for March 1754, his name appears just below that of Henry Sampson Woodfall, as the last in the Eighth, a form into which no doubt he had just been moved. In a few months' time he became third boy in his form, and during the year which preceded his leaving, 1755-56, he was captain of the school.

He is said to have acted as private secretary to Pitt while still a boy at St. Paul's. His subsequent career at the War Office, as Member of the Council in Bengal, as Member of Parliament, reputed author of the “Letters of Junius” and Manager of the impeachment of Warren Hastings, is too well known to need more than a passing reference.

The biographers of Sir Philip Francis, who state that St. Paul's under Thicknesse received pupils from all parts of the kingdom, speaking of the high master, declare that—

“He was beloved by all his pupils, and retained their grateful & affectionate friendship to the close of his life. His discrimination of the moral and intellectual natures of

his different scholars was one of his highest qualifications for a teacher of youth. He was accustomed to say that the boys of the school were not like the bricks of the school-house, all moulded in one form ; that his pupils differed widely in powers and direction of mind, in temper and in temperament, and in the physical conditions of health : that some boys had no talent for the acquisition of the dead languages, and that a Master must be content with their elementary instruction, as the cane and the birch would not alter nature."

In this connection it is worth noting that Thicknesse always mentioned Philip Francis and Philip Rosenhagen as the most naturally clever and the best scholars of his whole career as high master, but Rosenhagen, he said, had neither perseverance nor moral conduct, while Francis had both.

The career of Rosenhagen, the son of a gentleman of Danish descent, bore out the presages of his school-master. He was captain of the school a year before Francis, and having graduated as ninth wrangler, was elected Fellow of St. John's College. Soon after he became chaplain to Lord Chesterfield, and Dr. Johnson's celebrated epigram appears to have been as applicable to the parson as to the "peerless peer of manners and congees." He became a regimental chaplain, and while living in Paris "dressed in hat and feather, silk coat, red-heeled shoes, and all the foppery of a *petit maître*," he met Francis, and told his school-fellow that since he mixed in the best society he could not appear in the dowdy dress of an English parson.

In 1784 Rosenhagen's convivial character made him a *persona grata* in the circle surrounding the Prince of Wales, and the latter endeavoured to induce the congenial clergyman to marry him to Mrs. Fitzherbert, but the price offered for this dangerous act was not sufficiently high.

Rosenhagen next endeavoured to persuade Lord North

that he was the author of the "Letters of Junius" in order that he might be granted a pension to write no more.

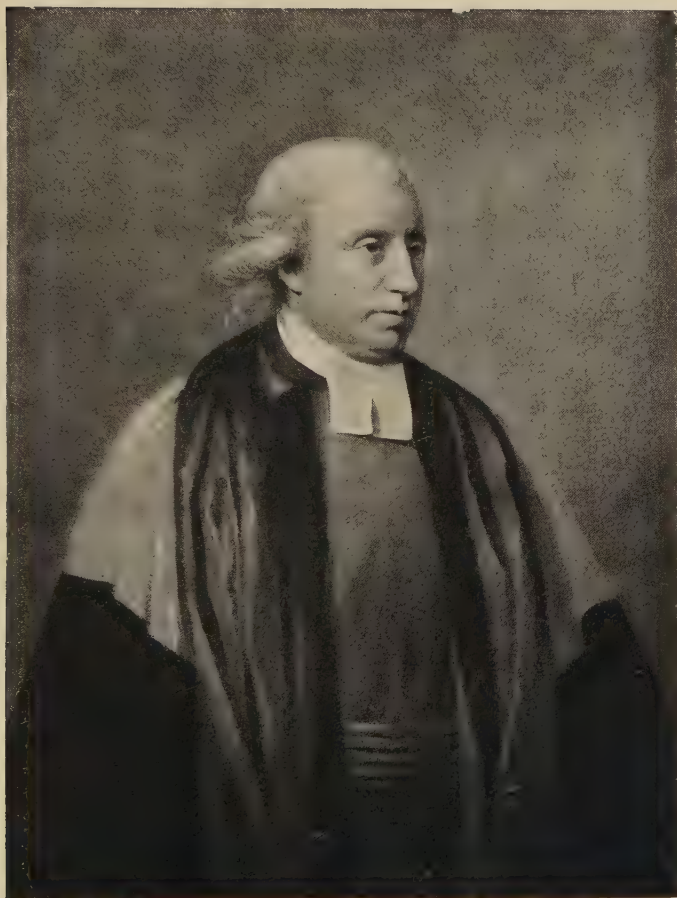
In spite of scandal which linked Rosenhagen's name with those of several ladies of high position in the country, he was, in 1796, appointed Archdeacon of Colombo, and died in Ceylon two years later.

No less than twenty-five of Thicknesse's pupils gained fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge, more than two-thirds being held at the latter. Two of his pupils became heads of Houses, William Sergrove, of Pembroke, Oxford, and William Gretton, of Magdalene, Cambridge. Samuel Vince, a Senior Wrangler, became Plumian Professor of Astronomy at Cambridge, and Peter Sandiford Gresham Professor of Astronomy in London.

John Garnett became Dean of Exeter and John Pridden Canon of Westminster. John Potticary was Benjamin Disraeli's first school-master.¹ Thomas Taylor was a well-known editor of *Plato*, and J. G. Caulet was a distinguished physician.

George Thicknesse, the high master's nephew, succeeded to a peerage as Lord Audley, W. G. D. La Touche became British Resident at Bussora, and William Hawes was the founder of the Royal Humane Society.

¹ *N. and Q.*, 10, ser. II, May 8, 1909.



J. Hickey pin.x.]

RICHARD ROBERTS, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

[To face p. 354.]

CHAPTER XIX

THE LONGEST HIGH MASTERSHIP

RICHARD ROBERTS, HIGH MASTER 1769-1814

RICHARD ROBERTS, the nominee of the retiring high master who was appointed by the Mercers to succeed him, was educated at St. Paul's under George Charles, in the days in which Thicknesse was surmaster. He is the last Old Pauline who has been elected high master. Of his career before coming to St. Paul's as high master remarkably little is known. He was born in 1729, consequently he must have been in his sixteenth year when he entered Jesus College, Oxford, as a servitor. He held a Pauline Exhibition from 1749-51. Nothing whatever is known of his career between that date and the year 1769, in which he was elected high master. His tenure of that post for forty-five years is memorable in the history of the school in so far as he held it for a longer period than any other high master before his time or since ; but it is remarkable that he is the only high master for the last hundred and fifty years of whom no account is given in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. He took his D.D. degree four years after being appointed high master, but, unlike his two immediate successors, received no recognition from his ecclesiastical superiors in the shape of a stall in the cathedral.

For the first twenty-one years of Roberts' rule, St. Paul's flourished extremely. In 1773 an additional assistant master had to be appointed to teach the fifth and sixth

classes, but he was paid by the high master out of his own salary until 1786. From the date of Roberts' appointment until 1790 the full number of foundation scholars appears to have been steadily maintained, while in these twenty-one years eighty-two boys other than those on the foundation were admitted, a small number when compared with the hundred and twenty-four who were admitted in the nineteen years of Thicknesse's high mastership. Of Roberts' non-foundationers only eighteen were subsequently admitted to the foundation, a figure which is in great contrast with the sixty-three non-foundation scholars of Thicknesse who were promoted to the foundation after admission to the school.

St. Paul's, Westminster and Merchant Taylors' all suffered a decline at the end of the eighteenth century. The only London school that flourished throughout the reign of George III was Charterhouse.

After 1790 there occurred a gradual diminution in the number of boys at St. Paul's. In 1797 there were only ninety-seven, and in 1804 only ninety-one; but the period of decline at St. Paul's was very short. From that year there was an increase in numbers, and in 1814, the year of Dr. Roberts' resignation, the full number of places in the school were filled. After 1791 no boys were placed on the foundation who had not entered the school in that capacity, and from the year 1790 until 1806 only twenty-three non-foundationers were admitted. After that year the admission of boys other than those on the foundation was stopped, and the school was limited as to its numbers to the statutory hundred and fifty and three, a rule which lasted until the year 1877.

About ten per cent. of the boys admitted to the school by Roberts proceeded to the Universities, and St. Paul's under his rule reasserted itself as a great public, as opposed

to a local metropolitan, school, as is shown by the fact that of boys who were not Londoners nearly twice as large a proportion passed through the school in the high mastership of Roberts as in that of Thicknesse.

The power of maintaining discipline appears to have been quite beyond the attainments of Dr. Roberts. One account of the school¹ in his time declares that, "never was there a more uproarious crew than the boys of St. Paul's, when, after forty years of thrashing them, Dr. Roberts retired on a pension." Barham relates how his friend, Charles Diggle, who in time became a major-general in the army, used to steal the shoe-laces of Isaac Hill, the high master's assistant, and avowed his intention of continuing the robbery until he had enough to extend the seventy feet of the length of the school-room, but unfortunately he left before he had done so. The same two boys went into a Quakers' meeting, Diggle with a jam tart, which he held up saying, "Whoever speaks first shall have this pie." To this a solemn Quaker said, "Friend, go thy way," whereupon Diggle replied "The pie's yours," and rushed out into the street.

An anonymous account of the school under Roberts, which was, without a doubt, written by one of his pupils just fifty years ago, deserves, from its picturesque style, to be quoted *in extenso*. "A regular curiosity," it says, "was Roberts, a venerable-looking man, at least in his last days, seeming scarce more lively than his bust, which now adorns the school-room, except when plying the cane; and on such occasions he was wonderfully active, as if inspired by new life. He wore a suit of rusty black, never wholly buttoned up, so as to shew his shirt, with an enormous steel watch chain, and a hat to which a three year old one would appear quite fresh and juvenile. At seven o'clock on a

¹ *Leisure Hour*, 1860, p. 618.

winter's morning, the shivering scholars assembled with sixpenny tapers in japanned boxes and fingers below freezing point, no fires being at any time allowed. At half-past seven magister crawled in, but in complete *déshabillé* with a blue nose, ludicrously winking his eyelids to keep them open. Having seated himself at a desk with black props opposite the pupil's face, the latter strove to fix upon the said props within convenient distance, a duplicate of the lesson to be delivered. If this trick could not be performed, some auxiliary would inevitably puff out the doctor's taper, upon which like a giant aroused from slumber he would cut away right and left in the dark, assailing face and limbs indiscriminately. If any noise arose which could not be traced to the noise maker, he invariably chastised the head boy of every class, as a kind of practical lecture on the dangers of eminence. He had the ugly habit, also of tying two or three canes together, thus making a bouquet of the implements, when there was any special amount of cudgelling to be dispensed."¹ With all his flogging, however, Roberts failed to suppress "the practice of boys from every part of the school-room throwing books at the head of any one, whoever he was, who entered the school-room with his hat on his head." On the other hand, there is ample evidence of Roberts' power of inspiring the respect of his pupils.

Richard Harris Barham, Canon of St. Paul's Cathedral, better known as the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends*, was captain of the school in 1806, and refers somewhere to Lucretius as—

"An author that gave me no trifling vexation,
When a youngster at school on Dean Colet's foundation."

Barham was the first captain of the school to receive a grant of thirty guineas, which was continued annually till 1876. His son who, like himself, was an Old Pauline, in

¹ *Leisure Hour*, 1860, p. 618.

his biography of "Thomas Ingoldsby," describes the kindness with which his father was nursed by Dr. Roberts and his wife, in whose house he was a boarder, when his arm was severely crushed through the upsetting of the Dover mail on his way up to school from Canterbury.¹ The school library possesses a MS. ode by Ingoldsby on "Jerry," his favourite cat.

A much earlier pupil of Roberts', who was also at Harrow, and who became the brother-in-law of his school-fellow Richard Brinsley Sheridan, was William Linley, who, after spending sixteen years in the service of the East India Company, became joint-owner with Sheridan of Drury Lane Theatre, and was well known as a composer, dramatist, novelist and minor poet. A copy of one of his forgotten novels,² which is in the British Museum, contains on the fly-leaf the following inscription, dated 1810, twenty-five years after he had entered the school: "This book is respectfully presented by the author, W. Linley, to Dr and Mrs Roberts in grateful recollection of favours conferred upon him, and the important advantages derived from an education under the Doctor's uniformly able and zealous tuition to which any little merit the work may possess is principally owing."³

Another interesting sidelight thrown upon Roberts is to be found in a letter of William Cowper,⁴ dated April 30, 1785, just after the publication of *John Gilpin*, in which he says, "The head master of St Paul's School (who he is I know not) has conceived, in consequence of the entertainment that John has afforded him, a vehement desire to write

¹ *Life of R. H. Barham*, by R. H. D. Barham.

² *The Adventure of Ralph Roybridge*, 1809, 12mo, 4 vols.

³ His portrait as a handsome boy, painted while he was at St. Paul's, which is in the Dulwich College Gallery, is one of the masterpieces of Sir Thomas Lawrence, P.R.A.

⁴ "Life of Cowper" and *Pauline*, vol. xx., No. 131, p. 72.

to me. Let us hope he will alter his mind ; for should we even exchange civilities on the occasion, *Tirocinium* will spoil all." Although the poet's grandfather, Spencer Cowper, was himself a Pauline, it is not surprising that in his seclusion at Olney, Cowper should not have known the name or title of Dr. Roberts, but in view of the flogging propensities of the latter it would, indeed, be interesting to know what was the high master's opinion of *Tirocinium*, the impassioned plea for private tuition as against public schools which was inspired by the poet's horror of the discipline from which, forty years earlier, he had suffered at Westminster, a school from which Southey was expelled by Vincent in 1792 for attacking the birch in a school-boy paper called the *Flagellant*. Coleridge, who left another London School, Christ's Hospital, at about the same date, on hearing in later years of the death of Boyer, a flogging master of Bluecoat boys, exclaimed in a more genial spirit, "Poor J. B. ! May all his faults be forgiven, and may he be wafted to bliss by little cherub boys, all heads and wings with no backs to reproach his sublunary infirmities."

One of the earliest of Roberts' pupils, Richard Edwards, after graduating at Trinity, Cambridge, as a Campden Exhibitioner, returned to St. Paul's as chaplain in the year after taking his degree, and having become surmaster in 1806, retained that post under Sleath, remaining in all forty years a master in the school. A portrait of an unknown clergyman, which hangs in the Board room, was identified by Sir Frederick Halliday, on a visit paid by him to the school in 1893, as that of Richard Edwards, who resigned the surmastership in the year after Sir Frederick left the school.

W. A. Campbell Durham, a pupil of Roberts' for nine years, after graduating at Corpus, Cambridge, as a Pauline Exhibitioner, returned to the school as usher in 1806, and remained at St. Paul's until his retirement from the sur-

mastership in 1838. We can understand quite well that his brass door-plate bearing the name W. A. C. Durham, and the fact that he introduced and largely indulged in "handers," or caning on the hand, caused him to be known as "Whack " Durham ; but it is more difficult to believe the statement in the reminiscences¹ of one of Roberts' pupils, that every day on his entering, "the school in chorus used to shout, 'Whack-row de dow,' " a practice, which the same writer says, "neither cane nor casuistry could put down."

As an Old Pauline who entered the school in 1804 recalled in his reminiscences, contributed to the *Pauline*² nearly eighty years later, "a short jacket and knee breeches which was then the ordinary dress of a boy at St Paul's, lent themselves admirably to corporal punishment" ; but the same writer went on to say that the captain of those days, if he set up for being a buck, used to read prayers in leathers and top boots.

Reference has already been made to the fact that in 1773 the high master found it necessary to appoint as his assistant a fourth master, part of whose salary he himself paid. The names of the earliest of these whom he appointed are not known, but Isaac Hill, who graduated in 1794, held the post shortly after, and retained it until he was appointed head master of the Mercers' School, and chaplain to the company. The two other assistants who were successively appointed by Roberts were both Old Paulines. Of these, Henry Somes, who remained in the post until the resignation of Roberts, became chancellor and prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral, and delivered the Bampton Lecture at Oxford in 1830.

One, at least, of these assistants to the high master

¹ *Leisure Hour*, ut supra.

² Vol. i. p. 52. T. G. Kensit.

had boarders in a house in one of the courts of Doctors' Commons.¹ The holder of this post taught the fifth and sixth, leaving the seventh and eighth to be taught by the high master.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century² one Thomas Tompkins, a well-known caligraphist, taught writing and arithmetic in the school.

On the appointment of Dr. Roberts to succeed Thicknesse, in 1769, no changes were made in the salaries of the masters of the school. Five years later, however, forty guineas were, for the first time, paid to the high master to enable him to provide an assistant. After the lapse of another three years, in 1776, an additional annual allowance³ of £5 was made to each master for a livery gown, making the total under this head £7 13s. 4d.

In 1786 the salaries of the high master, surmaster and usher were increased by £50, £30 and £20 respectively, and for the first time a special grant of £21 a year was made for the high master's assistant, in addition to the forty guineas which were allowed to the high master for the assistant's pay, and which were doubled in 1792.

Constant increases in the salaries of all the masters took place from 1795 to 1810. In 1800 the increase was expressly stated to be "on account of the peculiar circumstances of the times and the high price of provisions."

During the last four years of Dr. Roberts' high mastership his salary was £691 13s. 4d., of which eighty guineas went to his assistant, who also received £50 a year direct from the Mercers. The surmaster, at the same time, was paid £307 13s. 4d., and the usher received £227 13s. 4d.

The indebtedness of the Mercers' Company to St. Paul's School, to which reference has already been made, was

¹ *Pauline*, vol. i., 1882, p. 52.

² R. B. G., i. 206.

³ App. to 3rd Report of Commissioners on Chars., 1820.



E. Mackenzie del.

INTERIOR OF THE SCHOOL-ROOM IN 1816
From Ackerman's "History of the Public Schools"

J. Bluck sc.

[To face p. 362.]

re-discovered in 1804, a year in which the company went carefully into the accounts of the school. In that year, to quote the Report of the Royal Commission on the Livery Companies of the City of London¹—

“An old cash book of 1713–14 was found shewing that at the close of the surveyor-accountant’s account of the school for the year there was a balance due from the Company to the school of £13,351 7s. 4½d. On investigation it was found that in 1745 the debt owing from the Company to the school was £34,637. In 1806 the Company charged themselves with this debt. In 1808 £5,000 was invested in 3 per cent. annuities, and from 1814 £2,000 was invested every year till the whole debt was liquidated, which occurred in 1824.”

We have already had occasion to refer to the two occasions on which, during the high mastership of Thicknesse, the school exhibitions were increased in value. The following notice, from the *Gentleman’s Magazine*, under the date March 11, 1772, of the third Apposition in the mastership of Roberts, shows that a further increase followed very soon after those of 1752 and 1754.

“The young gentlemen of St. Paul’s School spoke their annual orations before a numerous audience, with universal applause. They passed their examinations with such honour that the worshipful Company of Mercers have, as a reward to their merit, and an encouragement to their further improvement, enlarged their exhibitions out of the encrease of the founder’s estate from twenty to thirty pounds yearly, during the first three years of their college residence, and, after taking their degree, to forty.”

A resolution to the above effect is contained in the MS. transcript of the Mercers’ minutes, from which quotation has so often been made in this book, and the last entry in

¹ 1884, vol. ii. p. 37

the MS. is dated exactly a year later—March 11, 1773—and runs, “The Court taking into Consideration what might be a proper time for Scholars to be in St. Paul’s School before the petition for Exhibitions Resolved and Ordered that no Scholar that shall hereafter be admitted into St. Paul’s School shall be permitted to Petition for an Exhibition until he shall have been full Four years in the School upon the Foundation by the Appointment of the Surveyor for the time being.” It is interesting to observe that this is a mere re-enactment of the resolution of 1633, which in 1698 had been relaxed by making the necessary period three years.

In 1802 the value of the Campden Exhibitions was raised from £10 a year each to £50 each, tenable for seven years. In 1810 it was decided that there should be six exhibitions of £100 a year each, but in 1812 it was resolved that only one should be given annually.

In 1780, by the will of John Stock, citizen and draper of London, there were founded scholarships at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, as a tribute of “respect to the Merit and Reputation of an eminent Grammar School of the City of London, viz. St. Paul’s Grammar School in St. Paul’s Churchyard.” The testator required that the boys benefiting under his will should have been at St. Paul’s for three or four years.

In 1782, owing to the fact that the buildings were under repair, the school was held in Blacksmiths’ Hall in Upper Thames Street. The chief external alteration made in the school building in this year was to enlarge the uppermost storeys of the two masters’ houses, no doubt for the accommodation of boarders. The central arched window, which appears above the cornice supported by scrolls and with a balustrade above it in the views of the school up to the year 1754, is seen, in those engraved after the year

1783, to have been replaced by three square attic windows with a slated roof above them.

According to a writer who described the collections of books in the city of London in the pages of the *Gentleman's Magazine*¹ in 1790, the library of St. Paul's at that date "upon the whole was on the decay," and it is of interest in this connection to quote from some lines found after his death among the papers of Dr. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, which were written in his handwriting, with a footnote stating that they were composed by a school-fellow.²

"Dr. Rob . . . s complains that the books have been lost,
The books of St. Paul's School, stole mangled and tost :
And loudly inveighs 'gainst the rogue in the dark,
And vows if he find him he'll punish the spark."

Point is given to these lines by the fact that from the catalogue published in 1809, the year in which Alfred Ollivant entered the school, it appears that the library contained only 789 volumes, while in 1743 the number of volumes had been 830.

A writer in 1803 describes the library as "a dark diminutive & dusty room at the south end of the school, where the books which compose it are covered with dust & defaced by the boys with ink & erasures."³

The school library still possesses a copy of a play entitled *Abradates and Panthea*, on a subject taken from the *Cyropaedia*, which was acted by the scholars of St. Paul's in 1770.⁴

The only known contemporary record of the four hundredth anniversary of the foundation of the school by Colet is to be found in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,⁵ according to which—

¹ *G. M.*, vol. lx. p. 586. ² *Pauline*, vol. iv., No. 5, p. 99.

³ Malcolm, *Lond. Redevivum*, vol. iii: p. 193.

⁴ *Notes and Queries*, series 2, vol. ii: p. 67, 1862.

⁵ *G. M.*, 1810, vol. lxxx. p. 480.

"The commencement of the fourth centenary from the foundation of St. Paul's School was this day celebrated at Freemason's Hall by the gentlemen who received their education in that respectable seminary. The Lord Bishop of Salisbury, Sir Philip Francis, K.B., the Rev. Dr. Roberts, the high master, and many others, equally the ornaments of that excellent foundation and of society, whom the celebration of this event had attracted even from distant parts of the country, graced the social board."

That the school was not unmindful of the services rendered to it by the man who occupied the high master's chair for a longer time than did any of his predecessors or successors, is seen from a record in the *Gentleman's Magazine*,¹ which states that on March 30, 1815, "The young Gentlemen educating at St. Paul's School, to evince their respect for the Rev. Dr. Roberts, who lately resigned the situation of High Master after retaining it for upwards of forty-five years presented to him, as a mark of their grateful esteem, an elegant silver vase inscribed with suitable & appropriate devices and inscriptions. The Scholars of the head class with a deputation from each of the other classes presented it to the venerable Master at his house in Kensington ; when Mr. Hastings, the senior scholar delivered an appropriate address in the name of the School, to which Dr. Roberts returned an answer expressive of his feelings, exhorting his young friends to persevere in their classical pursuits, and expressing his conviction that the young gentlemen educated at St. Paul's School would always prove an ornament to their country and to mankind. Dr. Roberts afterwards entertained his young friends with a handsome collation."

The most distinguished of Roberts' pupils was Thomas

¹ G. M., vol. lxxxviii., pt. i., p. 368.



THOMAS WILDE, LORD TRURO, LORD CHANCELLOR OF ENGLAND

*From the copy by T. Y. Gooderson in the National Portrait Gallery of the painting by
Sir Francis Grant. P.R.A., in the School*

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Wilde, Lord Chancellor Truro. The son of a Newgate Street attorney, popularly known as "Gentleman Wilde," he entered St. Paul's at the age of seven, and remained there until he was fourteen. Of his career at St. Paul's nothing is known, except that two years after his entry he was so backward that the examiner recommended his removal, but Dr. Roberts, recognizing his latent abilities, refused to allow this. Immediately on leaving school he was articled to his father, but after practising for twelve years as a solicitor he was called to the Bar in 1817. Three years later, in the case of the Bill of Pains and Penalties against Queen Caroline, Wilde was briefed as counsel, and virtually superseded Brougham and Denman, who were respectively the Queen's Attorney and Solicitor-General. The confidence which he inspired in his Royal client is to be seen in the fact that the Queen made him one of her executors, and charged him with the duty of distributing her mourning rings inscribed "*Regi, regnoque fidelis.*" Soon after the Queen's case Wilde was called to the degree of Serjeant-at-Law, and later became in turn King's Serjeant and Queen's Ancient Serjeant. Within ten years of his call he had the largest Common Law practice in England. In 1831 Wilde, after two unsuccessful contests, was returned in the Whig interest as member for Newark,¹ but in the election for the Reformed Parliament, Gladstone, then aged twenty-three, defeated him, and, according to Lord Morley, the serjeant, after hearing him speak, sententiously said to one of his own supporters, "There is a great future before this young man."

In the election of 1831 Wilde had one advantage over his opponent, Michael Sadler, a Tory philanthropist, nominated by the Duke of Leeds, which in 1832 he had

¹ Crabb Robinson, May 28, 1824.

not over Gladstone. In the former contest Charles Lamb wrote him some electioneering squibs, of which the following has been preserved—

“Even now the Bill is filed
And your Counsel—Serjeant Wilde.
He will make the Sadler sidle
Stir him up with bit and bridle.
If you would be Freeman styled
Go at once and vote for Wilde.
If you'd be a Ducal twaddler
Then turn round and vote for Sadler.”¹

Wilde was again returned for Newark in 1835, and for a third time in 1837. In 1841 he was elected for Worcester, and retained that seat until his elevation to the Bench in 1846.

The industry of Wilde at the zenith of his professional career was proverbial. Sergeant Ballantine recalled a consultation at his chambers which lasted from eight till twelve ; one of his devils asserted that he never thought of leaving the Temple until the clock of St. Paul's struck midnight ; while Lord Campbell records that he went to chambers at six o'clock summer and winter, and if hard pushed did not mind sitting up all night.

Among the *causes célèbres* in which he was briefed *Small v. Attwood*, where he was counsel for the appellant before the House of Lords, may be mentioned ; while in the still more famous case of *Stockdale v. Hansard* he was in the House of Commons the life and soul of the party of privilege.

In 1839 Wilde became Solicitor-General. Two years later, he wished for reasons of health to be given a puisne judgeship, but by a rare exercise of party loyalty he remained in office owing to the precarious state of the Melbourne Ministry, which an adverse by-election might have destroyed.

¹ E. V. Lucas, *Lamb*, v. 341-2 ; vii. 85-6 ; Talfourd's *Mem.*, ii. 77-8.

In 1842 Wilde became Attorney-General. It is worth noting that of the three counsel who at this time reigned supreme in the Common Law Courts, Wilde, Pollock, and Follet, the first two were Old Paulines.

In 1844 Wilde was briefed in the Sussex peerage case for Sir Augustus D'Este, a natural son of the Duke of Sussex, who, in spite of the Royal Marriages Act, claimed the dukedom of Sussex. Out of this case arose his marriage with the claimant's sister, who, like Wilde, was no longer young, so that the union excited a good deal of amusement, one comment running—

“Happy the pair who fondly sigh
By fancy and by love beguiled
He views as heaven his d'Este nigh
She vows her fate will make her Wilde.”¹

On the return of the Whigs to power in 1846 Wilde again became Attorney-General. Very shortly afterwards he was appointed Lord Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, but four years later, on the death of Lord Cottenham, through the persuasion of Lord John Russell, he exchanged the “pillow of the pleas” with great reluctance for the woolsack, and entered the House of Lords as Lord Truro of Bowes.

Lord Brougham, in proposing that Sir Thomas Wilde should occupy the woolsack, described him as one of the most amiable, most experienced and most learned lawyers in Westminster Hall.

He remained Lord Chancellor until the Russell Ministry resigned office eighteen months later, and on the return of the Whigs to power, some months later, his health and his inability to adapt himself to the Courts of Equity after a life spent in those of Common Law prevented his accepting the Great Seal for a second time, and in consequence it was put into commission.

¹ Coleridge, *Life*, i. 175.

Lord Truro was one of the most generous benefactors St. Paul's School has ever known, and his portrait was bequeathed to the school by Lady Truro.

Although Cromleholme, like Roberts, educated at St. Paul's a future Lord Chancellor, only one boy destined to be a bishop passed under the hands of the former high master : to Roberts, therefore, alone among the rulers of St. Paul's, can be applied those lines of Shenstone's in which, moralizing like Gray on childhood and its destinies, he spoke of a school-room containing—

“A little bench of heedless bishops here,
And there a chancellor in embryo.”

The two occupants of the episcopal bench educated by Roberts entered the school towards the end of his career. Alfred Ollivant, who entered St. Paul's exactly a hundred years ago, left as captain, and after a career at Cambridge in which he was sixth wrangler and gained numerous University scholarships and prizes, he became Regius Professor of Divinity, and then Bishop of Llandaff. He was one of the “revisers” of the Old Testament, and his interest in St. Paul's, evinced by frequent attendance at the Apposition, earned for him the position of first President of the Old Pauline Club. Contemporary with Ollivant at St. Paul's, though a few years his junior, James Prince Lee also became captain of the school, and as a fellow of Trinity, Cambridge, was for eight years an assistant-master at Rugby under Arnold. For ten more years he was head master of King Edward's School, Birmingham, and in 1848 he was consecrated first Bishop of Manchester, a see two out of the four occupants of which have been Old Paulines.

Walter Medhurst, who left the school as “scrub,” or bottom boy, in the eighth, at the Apposition preceding Prince Lee's entrance, became an eminent missionary in China. Francis Goode, who left as captain four years later,

and was elected fellow of Trinity, became equally well known as a missionary in India. William Goode, who was captain of the school four years after his brother Francis, became Dean of Ripon. Christopher Heath, whose name stands next to that of Dean Goode in the registers, succeeded Edward Irving in 1835 as angel, or chief pastor, of the Catholic Apostolic Church in London. Robert Porteus, a nephew of the well-known Bishop of London, became a canon of St. Paul's, and Henry Soames became chancellor of that cathedral.

One of the earliest of Roberts' pupils, John Towell Rutt, has not hitherto been identified. He was a friend of Joseph Priestley. He was an original member of the Society of Friends of the People, dislike of the principles of which led Edmund Burke to write *Reflections on the Revolution in France*.

Thomas Clarkson, the friend and comrade of Wilberforce and Zachary Macaulay, left St. Paul's with an exhibition in 1780. Serjeant Talfourd, in his *Life of Charles Lamb*, describes him as "the true annihilator of the African slave trade." It is on record that his interest in this question, which was his life's work, was first aroused by the fact that he wrote an essay upon it for the Members' Prize while still an exhibitor at St. John's College, Cambridge.

Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke, F.R.S., who entered St. Paul's a year after Lord Truro, acquired a European reputation as an obstetric physician. He attended Queen Adelaide, and was created baronet in 1831. He showed his gratitude to St. Paul's twenty years later by founding the Milton Prize for an English poem. His brother, John Clarke, also became a well-known member of the medical profession, as did a third of Roberts' pupils, namely, Charles J. Roberts, F.R.S.

Few of Roberts' pupils entered the army, but R. M.

Leake and Charles Diggle, who fought in the Crimea, both rose to the rank of general.

The profession in which, more than any other, Dr. Roberts' pupils achieved distinction was the law. T. W. Williams, who has not hitherto been identified, was a legal writer of sufficient note to deserve a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

Edward Lawes became a Serjeant-at-Law, and William Julian, another Old Pauline who assumed the coif, became Judge Advocate-General.

Sir John Sewell, F.R.S., Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Malta, was for eleven years at St. Paul's under Roberts. The careers of two other colonial judges educated under this high master have by a strange coincidence not hitherto been recorded. John Wild, the elder brother of the future Lord Chancellor, with whom he entered the school, left as captain in the last year of the eighteenth century. He became Chief Justice of New South Wales, and as Sir John Wild died Chief Justice of the Cape. Sir James Dowling, another Chief Justice of New South Wales, entered the school two years after Wild had gone up to Cambridge. He first served as Puisne Judge of the Court of that colony, became Chief Justice in 1837, and was knighted in the following year.

Jonathan Frederick Pollock, the son of a saddler at Charing Cross, who lost heavily by giving credit to George IV when Prince of Wales, entered the school at the remarkably late age for that time, of sixteen. He became senior wrangler, Smith's Prizeman, and Fellow of Trinity. His career at the Bar made him the founder of a family which has been called the English "gens Mucia." He served twice as Attorney-General under Sir Robert Peel, in 1834-5, and again in 1841-4. In 1844 Sir J. F. Pollock became Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer, a post which he retained



Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., pinx.]

SIR J. F. POLLOCK, BART., F.R.S., LORD CHIEF BARON OF THE
EXCHEQUER

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for twenty-two years. He sent his sons to St. Paul's, and was chairman of the Old Pauline dinner on its revival in 1864, six years before his death. It was Chief Baron Pollock who damned one of the worst series of law reports ever issued by saying, "Espinasse! Oh yes, he was that deaf old reporter who heard one half of a case and reported the other."

One of the more distinguished pupils of Dr. Roberts whose name alone appeared in the first volume of admission registers, and whose identity was first made known in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, was John Gurney, who within a few years after his call to the Bar became leader of the home circuit, and maintained that position in spite of the presence of rivals as distinguished as Copley, afterwards Lord Lyndhurst, and Scarlett. He took a conspicuous part in several State trials, holding a brief for the defence of Horne Tooke in 1794, and of Arthur O'Connor in 1798. He took silk in 1816, and in 1832 he was raised to the bench as Baron of the Exchequer, where he enjoyed the reputation of being a sound lawyer and an acute judge. It is worth noting that Sir John Gurney married the daughter of an Old Pauline, William Hawes, the founder of the Royal Humane Society.

Sir Thomas Edlyn Tomlyns, the son of an eminent solicitor well known in the political circles of the eighteenth century, is another lawyer of note who has not hitherto been identified among Roberts' pupils. Tomlyns was at Queen's College, Oxford, and after being editor of the *St. James' Chronicle*, became counsel to the Chief Secretary for Ireland, and later to the Chancellor of the Exchequer for Ireland until the union of the British and Irish Treasuries in 1816. He was knighted in 1814 on the recommendation of the Duke of Wellington, and in 1827 was Treasurer of the Inner Temple.

Sir Charles Wetherell, who, like Sir J. F. Pollock, was twice senior law officer of the Crown, was the son of the Master of University College, Oxford. He was Solicitor-General from 1824-1826, and Attorney-General in 1826-7 and 1828-9. He was a brilliant lawyer, but a Tory of the uncompromising school of Lord Eldon, and bitterly opposed the Catholic Relief Bill and the Reform Bill. His anti-democratic sympathies and his habitual slovenliness in dress led to much unkindly criticism. A member of the House of Commons declared that in his speech made upon Catholic Emancipation, standing with his hands in the waistband of his breeches, he had but one lucid interval, which was that between his breeches and his waistcoat. A squib which was circulated during the Reform Bill campaign ran—

“Died Sir Charles Wetherell’s laundress, Sue,
Verdict—ennui, so little work to do.”

Another comment of the wits, characteristic of a time when Rowlandson and Gillray were popular caricaturists, declared that he escaped from the rioters at Bristol, of which he was Recorder, in a clean shirt and a pair of braces.

The laugh, however, was not always against him. It was he who told Lord Lyndhurst, apropos Lord Campbell’s *Lives of the Lord Chancellors*, that “plain John Campbell has added a new terror to death,” and when Lord Brougham insisted on sitting—so as to conclude a case—on the last two days of Holy Week, Wetherell remarked that he was the first judge since Pontius Pilate to sit on Good Friday. His masterly cross-examination of the spy Castles in the trial of James Watson for high treason¹ served as model for the celebrated scene in *A Tale of Two Cities*.

A few days before the admission of Wetherell, the son

¹ State Trials, vol. xxxii. pp. 284-327.

of the master of an Oxford college, R. W. Elliston, the nephew of the Master of Sidney Sussex was admitted to St. Paul's. While at school Elliston attended French classes in the evening, at which he met Charles Mathews the elder, then a boy at Merchant Taylors', who inspired him with an ambition for the stage, where he rose to the highest success. His *Charles Surface* is said to have been unsurpassable. Leigh Hunt thought him a finer actor than Kemble, while his friend Charles Lamb concludes the charming character-sketch contained in the two essays devoted to his memory with this apostrophe, "Thou wert a scholar, and an early ripe one, under the roof builded by the munificent and pious Colet. For thee the Pauline muses weep. In elegies that shall silence this crude prose, they shall celebrate thy praise."

Two other actors of sufficient distinction to be named in the *Dictionary of National Biography* were educated by Roberts. John Fawcett, who created the part of Dr. Pangloss in Colman's *Heir at Law*, entered the school in 1776. William Evans Burton, who has not been identified in the registers, after matriculating at Christ's went on the stage and made himself a name in America as a dramatist. His chief parts were Bob Acres and Tony Lumpkin, and "as an actor," it was said, "he held the first rank, and the present generation cannot hope to witness his equal."

William Chamberlain, who entered the school the year after Elliston, was a pupil of Sir Joshua Reynolds, and became a portrait painter of some eminence. Daniel Asher Alexander, surveyor to Trinity House, was a well-known architect, and designed Dartmoor prison as well as several lighthouses. With him may be named George Rennie, F.R.S., who designed London Bridge, and Joseph Gwilt, F.S.A., who compiled the well-known *Encyclopædia of Architecture*. Two of Roberts' pupils held the post of Keeper of printed

books at the British Museum—Henry Baber in 1812, and John Winter Jones, F.S.A., in 1856.

Stephen Jones, the biographer of David Garrick, was the editor of the *European Magazine*; John Bowyer Nichols, F.S.A., was a famous antiquary, and contributed articles to the *Gentleman's Magazine*, of which he was editor, over the well-known signature, Sylvanus Urban; Samuel Bentley, a well-known publisher, produced *Bentley's Miscellany*. The title originally proposed was the Wits' Miscellany, and when Bentley told Canon Barham, his school-fellow, of the change, the author of the *Ingoldsby Legends* replied to his publisher, "Why go from one extreme to the other?"

John Hamilton Reynolds, who has not hitherto been identified, was the son of the head writing-master at Christ's Hospital. He became a well-known poet and man of letters. He was the proprietor of the *Athenæum*, and was on terms of close friendship with Keats, and contributed to the *Edinburgh Review*. Keats projected a series of metrical versions of Boccaccio's tales in conjunction with Reynolds, and wrote *Isabella, or the Pot of Basil* with this object in view.

Among the men of letters educated by Richard Roberts, mention must be made of William Roberts, the nephew of the high master, who was first sent to Eton, of which his father's cousin was provost, but according to his son's biography William Roberts found the petty tyranny of the fagging system so intolerable that his parents removed him to St. Paul's, of which he was captain for two years. On going to Corpus, Oxford, as a freshman sixteen years of age, he wrote to his father, "an Old Pauline acquaintance contributed not a little to render my spirits light by his friendly attention to me." At the University he gained the Chancellor's English essay prize, and within a few years of taking his degree, as editor of the *Looker On*, writing under

the pseudonym of "Rev. Simeon Olivebranch," he became the last of the "British Essayists." Lord Melbourne was among his pupils reading in his chambers in the Temple, and having adversely criticized Childe Harold and Beppo in the *British Review*, of which he was editor from 1811 till 1822, Byron retaliated upon him in *Don Juan*¹ by devoting two stanzas of the first canto to "my grandmother's review—the British." He became a commissioner in bankruptcy, and his intimacy with Wilberforce and his circle led him to write the memoirs of Hannah More. He must not—as has been done—be confounded with his second cousin, W. Hayward Roberts, a son of the Provost of Eton, who was elected a Fellow of that college at the early age of twenty-four, and of whom it is said that when he was told that a chalybeate had been found in the shooting fields, he replied, "Put it in the cistern with the rest of the fish."

Five years before Roberts, the captain of the school was Charles Coote, who became a Fellow of Pembroke, Oxford, practised in Doctors' Commons, and in addition to writing numerous historical works was editor of the *Critical Review*.

Dr. Roberts appears to have made some arrangement with the authorities of Pembroke College, Oxford, by which his pupils at St. Paul's were enabled to enjoy scholarships at that college which were founded for the benefit of pupils of Abingdon School. No less than eight Paulines educated at St. Paul's under this high master were put down in the registers of Pembroke as having been at Abingdon, and it is a curious fact that it was only during the latter half of the time during which these entries were made that William Sergrove, an Old Pauline, was Master of Pembroke.

The most distinguished of these so-called Abingdon scholars was George Hall, who became Master of Pembroke in 1809, and retained the post till 1843. The career of

¹ Canto I, stanzas 209-210.

Sir John Sewell has been noticed elsewhere. Thomas Dudley Fosbrooke, F.S.A., was a well-known antiquary. The *Dictionary of National Biography* gives an account of another of Roberts' pupils who became an eminent antiquary, Robert Finch, F.S.A., whose collections were bequeathed by him to the Ashmolean Museum. Two other pupils of Roberts, besides George Hall, became heads of houses at the Universities, Henry Godfrey, President of Queens' from 1820-1832, and John Wilson, F.R.S., President of Trinity from 1850-1866. G. C. Renouard, who entered the school in the same year as Henry Godfrey, became Lord Almoner's Professor of Arabic at Cambridge, and was thus occupant of a chair which, as we have seen, was founded through the efforts of a high master of St. Paul's. In this connection also may be mentioned two other old Paulines, who achieved successful academic careers, J. Hallett Batten, Principal of Haileybury College, and Charlton Lane, Gresham Professor of Rhetoric.

Edward Griffith, F.R.S., was one of the founders of the Zoological Society, John Owen of the British and Foreign Bible Society. Two of Roberts' pupils, R. M. Barnard and C. F. Johnson, rose to be Masters of the Mercers' Company, and one, W. Bentley, became Master of the Leather-sellers' Company.

An Old Pauline, John Chichester Maclaurin, was medical officer to the British Embassy in Paris during the French Revolution, and another Old Pauline, John Warner, was embassy chaplain at the same time.



THE REV^d JOHN SLEATH D.D. F.R.S. F.A.S.

High Master of St Paul's School Prebendary of St Paul's Cathedral & Chaplain in Ordinary to His Majesty &c

J. Slater del.]

[J. W. Slater sc.

JOHN SLEATH, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

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CHAPTER XX

THE EARLY NINETEENTH CENTURY

JOHN SLEATH, HIGH MASTER 1814-1837

ON the resignation of Dr. Roberts, the Mercers appointed John Sleath as his successor. Sleath was a Leicestershire man who entered Rugby, where he was one of the last boys to wear a cocked hat and a queue, in 1776, and eight years later he proceeded from that school with a Rugby Exhibition to Lincoln College, Oxford. In the following year he became a scholar of Wadham. In 1787, before he had taken his degree, he was appointed by Dr. James to a mastership at Rugby, where he remained for twenty-seven years, until his election to the high mastership of St. Paul's. Among his pupils at Rugby was Walter Savage Landor, unquestionably a troublesome school-boy, who writes with affectionate remembrance of "the elegant and generous Dr. John Sleath of Rugby."¹ His brother, William Boulton Sleath, who also was a Rugby master, went from there to Repton, a school of which he was the most distinguished head master. Letters from Sleath which are published in the collected works of Samuel Parr show that the influence of "the Whig Johnson" was exerted in favour of the candidature of the Rugby master. A month before the election Sleath wrote, "Your favourable opinion, expressed in the most general terms, must be of essential use to me. But greatly as I should have felt myself obliged by such general testimony, I feel myself doubly indebted to

¹ W. S. Landor's Works, ed. 1876, vol. iv. 400 n.

you for the very kind and condescending manner in which you have applied, not only to the Company in general, but also to those individual electors with whom you are privately acquainted."

On the day of his appointment he wrote—

"St. Paul's, June 16, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I should reproach myself if I delayed an instant in communicating to you that I am most handsomely elected to the high mastership of St. Paul's School. I am fully sensible of your zealous assistance, which must have materially contributed to my success. I can only add, I know not how to thank you, but you may believe me, my dear Sir, ever your obedient and grateful servant,

"JOHN SLEATH."

In the year of his election to St. Paul's, Sleath took the degree of Doctor of Divinity. In the following year he was elected F.S.A., and five years later F.R.S. He was a Prebendary of St. Paul's and Chaplain in Ordinary to the King. In 1833 he became Sub-dean of the Chapel Royal of St. James'. On his retirement from the high mastership, which occurred in 1837, he retained his connection with the Chapel Royal, and four years later became rector of Thornby in Northamptonshire. He died in 1847 and was buried in the crypt of St. Paul's Cathedral.

One of Sleath's pupils describes him at the close of his career at St. Paul's as "tall imposing and corpulent, a good scholar, not unkind, but only unapproachable and awe-inspiring," and the same writer relates that "he took leave of the School in a gentle & affectionate speech. The Eighth showed up voluntary verses which affected him deeply as they were read out to him."¹

¹ *Pauline*, vol. ii. *passim* : Rev. G. R. Kingdon, S.J., "Fifty Years Ago."

At the opening of the new buildings of the school in 1884, Benjamin Jowett, the most distinguished of his pupils, referring to what the Master of the Mercers' Company had called "the dignified presence of Dr. Sleath," went on to speak of him as "one of the kindest and best of men, a gentleman of the old school, not without prejudices—everybody was prejudiced in those days—but revered and beloved by all his pupils."

In a series of articles entitled "Recollections of Last Century," contributed in 1901 to the *Times*,¹ by Prebendary J. E. Kempe, one of the oldest Paulines then living, the writer declared that he owed nothing to St. Paul's for anything which he had managed to learn, except Greek and Latin, but he spoke nevertheless of "the University honours and high positions, especially in the learned professions, which were won by so many of my school-fellows." Sleath himself used to say, "I do not profess to be a good scholar, but I make my scholars polish one another," and an illustration of this is to be found in a fact recorded by Father Kingdon to the effect that for many months he was in the habit of translating the concluding words in the Sunday's collect which the boys used to translate, but which were never corrected, by the words "mundus sine fine," until another boy pointed out to him the correct form in a Latin edition of the Prayer-book.

Prebendary Kempe placed on record an incident concerning the eldest son of Lord Chief Baron Pollock, who, like his father, was educated at St. Paul's. "The 7th and 8th were exempted from the cane. Pollock, when in the 7th, so exasperated the Doctor that he sent the Captain for the cane. Pollock walked out of the school-room in sight of all. 'Take notice,' exclaimed the Doctor in his stentorian voice, 'that boy is expelling himself.'"

¹ February 1, 1901.

It is significant, in view of this episode, that Sir W. F. Pollock omitted all reference to St. Paul's in his reminiscences.

Sleath objected strongly to the adherence to the founder's provisions that the masters of St. Paul's should not enjoy a freehold office, and to the fact that in consequence he was compelled annually to resign the high mastership and to submit himself for re-election. In 1820 he attempted, without success, to get the Court to issue a mandamus to the Mercers' Company in that connection.

There can be no doubt that he also disliked the innovation introduced by the Mercers, who ordered, in May 1821, that admission to the school should be by nomination of the Court of Assistants, in rotation, instead, as had formerly been the case, at the discretion of the high master. This system of nomination persisted until 1876.

On Dr. Sleath's appointment the salary of the high master was fixed at £600 per annum, that of the surmaster at £300, and that of the usher at £220. At the same time the Mercers took upon themselves the appointment of the assistant to the high master, to whom they paid £200 a year, over and above the grant of £7 13s. 4d., which he and the other three masters all received in addition to their salaries.

The high master further received £12 12s. a year, which was the rent of the Stepney house, which had been leased since 1781, and also a sum of £10 10s. a year from the company in compensation for the low rental at which it was let. The assistant to the high master, unlike the other three masters, having no residence, received £50 a year in addition to his salary as a grant in lieu of a house.

The reputation of Dr. Sleath maintained the school at its full statutory numbers during the whole of his career. He has been spoken of as the greatest public school-master

of his day, and his popularity is evidenced by such remarks as that of one of his old pupils, who writes of "dear old Sleath, delighting us by his dignified presence," and that of Bishop Alford, who, in giving his reminiscences of Jowett, spoke of "our dear old high master."

In the twenty-four years of his high mastership, 674 boys were admitted to the school. The duration of school life was tending to increase, and the average school career of his pupils was nearly six years, or almost double the average during the rule of his two predecessors. The number of boys proceeding to the Universities rose from ten per cent. of the whole school under Roberts to twenty-five per cent. under Sleath.

His reputation attracted boys from all over the kingdom. A much higher proportion of boys who were not the sons of parents living in London began to frequent St. Paul's, and nearly a quarter of the whole number of his pupils came from homes outside the metropolitan area.

The steady maintenance of the full statutory number of boys at St. Paul's under Dr. Sleath's able rule was in marked contrast with the state of the other great London schools in the first half of the nineteenth century.

When Thackeray entered Charterhouse in 1828, the school contained 370 boys, a fact which we know from the circumstance that the home-sick boy wrote to his mother wishing that there were only 369. In 1832 there were only 104 boys at Charterhouse, and the numbers had only risen to 121 in the year 1863.

Westminster, which in 1818 had 324 boys, had only 100 in 1835, and six years later the number had sunk below 80.

The registers of Rugby School record that the pupils of Dr. Sleath at St. Paul's gained at Cambridge six Chancellors' medals, two members' prizes, one Porson prize, five Craven

University Scholarships, two Bell Scholarships, one Tyrwhitt Hebrew Scholarship, and nine fellowships at Trinity.

The *Times*¹ announced his retirement in a characteristically early Victorian strain by stating that "The Rev. Dr. Sleath, High Master of St. Paul's has resigned that situation which for many years he has conducted in manner most honourable to himself, creditable to those in whose gift the appointment is vested, and advantageous to the youth placed under his care."

Even Serjeant Ballantine, whose criticisms were for the most part hostile, was constrained to admit that Sleath, to whose forms he never reached, was "a man of portly presence, a good scholar, I believe, and much respected," a description which is the more striking when it is compared with Ballantine's descriptions of the other masters as "cruel, cold-blooded, unsympathetic tyrants."

If the assistant masters at St. Paul's at the end of the eighteenth and at the beginning of the nineteenth centuries were brutal and incompetent bullies, it must be remembered that in this respect it differed but little from other public schools. Sydney Smith said that the whole system at Winchester in his time was one of abuse, neglect, and vice,² and Robert Lowe, Lord Sherbrooke, who was at William of Wykeham's school thirty or forty years later, spoke of it as "a coarse brutal and cruel school," while Charles Mathews the elder wrote in his autobiography that two more cruel tyrants than his masters at Merchant Taylors' never existed.

The reminiscences of a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus, Father George Renorden Kingdon, who was the eldest of five brothers educated at St. Paul's, throw an interesting light upon the state of the school at the end

¹ December 11, 1837.

² Lady Holland's *Life of Sydney Smith*, vol. i. p. 6.



A. Pugin del.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL IN 1816

From Ackerman's "History of the Public Schools."

[J. Stadler sc.]

(To face p. 384.)

of Sleath's and the beginning of Kynaston's high mastership. Father Kingdon entered the school in 1830, the year after Benjamin Jowett and the year before Lord Hannen. After making the reference already quoted concerning the assistant masters, he says that they were neither loved nor respected, and goes on to state that he learnt quite ten times as much from his school-fellows as from any master. An exception, however, is made as to Cooper, the fourth master, who was generally popular, and who differed from his colleagues also in this, that instead of knee-breeches and black silk stockings he wore the modern trousers. "Jimmy Cooper," however, lived long enough to be old fashioned in his dress, and it is said that towards the end of his thirty-eight years' mastership, "with his gown he always wore a tall hat after the fashion of the non-resident Cambridge masters."

The state of discipline appears to have been extraordinarily lax. School began at seven in summer and eight in winter, but as Sleath frequently overslept himself, prayers were often not said till half-an-hour later. All the masters were constantly late after the interval "between hours," from eleven to two, on the three days which were not half-holidays. On one day in the month Sleath, being a Royal chaplain, used to leave early in the afternoon, and the first few boys in the Eighth who were privileged to work in the library and not in the school-room, not infrequently went home.

Father Kingdon, in reference to Serjeant Ballantine's unpleasant recollections of his school-days, which only lasted four years, and in which he did not reach higher than the fourth form, says "Disagreeable things though they sometimes happened, were never so continuous as to make my school-time other than a happy one." Perhaps the pitched battles waged in the city streets with the boys of Merchant Taylors', whom the Paulines contemptuously called

"Stitch-lice," in answer to the name "Polecats," which was applied to them, may have contributed to his enjoyment. He tells us that R. H. D. Barham, who was one of the head boys in the school in 1834, armed himself in one of these encounters with a sword and was arrested with it drawn in his hand, and though summoned before a magistrate was dismissed with a caution.

The Eighth had more books than a single locker would hold. Consequently they were allowed the use of those which were unoccupied on the bottom bench of the lower forms. Father Kingdon remembered stooping under the desk and saying, when the captain of the school came to his locker in the Second, "'I say, Jowett, give us a 'con.' There's a good fellow.'" He was always too good-natured to refuse, and with his locker open would translate Valpy's *Delectus* for me straight off, to my great satisfaction."

The relic of a custom dating from the high mastership of Malym, in 1573, occurred on the days on which Sleath called out "Fetch the Play Book." A big morocco-bound, gilt-edged book was brought in, and just before prayers at the end of morning school, Sleath, taking the book from the captain, would solemnly announce, "There will be a play to-day for the good composition of A. B.," and the compositions which had gained the half-holiday were written out in the play book.

The reminiscences contain many references to W. A. C. Durham, at that time surmaster, who "used to throw his cane at a boy's head and expect him to come with it for the purpose of further punishment."

His portrait in the Great Hall, which represents a handsome old gentleman, makes it difficult to realize his reputation, which lasted long after his resignation, as a brutal type of Squeers.¹

¹ *Vide* Ballantine's *Reminiscences*.

His habits and his initials earned him, as we have seen, the name of "Whack" Durham, and it was largely owing to his practices that the Clarendon Commission was able to report in Kynaston's time, "even in the late master's time the cane is said to have been applied with undue rigour and frequency," while it is on record that small boys used to be noaxed by being told that the inscription at the end of the school-room meant, "Doce—flog the boys; Disce—make their blood run cold; Aut—or; Discede—turn them out of doors."

According to the evidence given before the Public Schools' Commission in 1864, the average rank of boys educated at St. Paul's rose during the twenty-three years of Sleath's high mastership to that of the boarders in Roberts' time, who had been boys of a better class than the day boys. Sleath, in his evidence before the Select Committee of the House of Commons on Education, in 1816, stated that "the boys are the sons principally of the clergy, professional gentlemen, and medical men in the neighbourhood, and a great many gentlemen in Doctor's Commons have received their education in St. Paul's School."

On the election of Dr. Sleath in 1814, a list of books required for the library was presented to the company, £400 was spent in buying and binding books, and a sum not exceeding £200 was allowed for their purchase. Two years later the annual charge for the library was fixed at £20.

A catalogue which was ordered to be made in 1812 was directed to be printed in 1815; from it we gather that the works of none of the "auctores Christiani," prescribed by Colet, were in the library one hundred years ago. Another catalogue which was ordered in 1820, shows the number of books at that date to have been 1,358. It is of interest as being the

first to contain the names of any of Milton's works. In the new building for the school, which was erected in 1824, a handsome library was provided at the north end of the Great School-room, occupying about two-thirds of the depth of the building. In 1836 a new catalogue was made by Benjamin Jowett, at that time captain of the school, for which he received a hundred guineas.

The marble bust of Sleath which is in the present library was bought in 1901, on the death of his nephew, the Rev. John Couchman, one of the oldest living Paulines. It was executed by Behnes in 1841. A plaster cast presented to the school by the high master's niece in 1887, the place of which in the library was taken by the original, is now to be seen in the Board room. In 1893 a portrait in the Board room was identified as that of Sleath, and was discovered to have been presented by the high master to his favourite pupil,¹ whose daughter, on inheriting it, presented it to Dr. Kynaston.

The number of boarders in the school was fully maintained by Sleath. According to Dr. Kynaston's evidence before Lord Clarendon's Commission, he had thirty boys living in his house, but, continues his successor, "Where he put them I could never understand." The surmaster took twenty boys, and the usher and the high master's assistant appear to have taken about half-a-dozen boys apiece. Father Kingdon says that "the boarders were a rowdy bullying set, disliked and shunned by the others." It was possibly for this reason that Sleath allowed those whom he had in his house to dwindle down at the end of his career to nine or ten.

Sleath, who on his appointment abolished the teaching of Hebrew, was anxious in 1816 to see mathematics taught

¹ Rev. Wm. Mackey, of Hayfield, Loch Awe. His daughter was Mrs. Shelford.

in the school, but it was not till 1835, three years before his resignation of the high mastership, that he persuaded the Mercers to give facilities for the teaching of mathematics at St. Paul's, the under usher being deputed to teach it to eighth and seventh forms on two afternoons in the week, attendance at his classes being purely optional.

Sir H. Maxwell Lyte's description of the state of things at Eton seventy years ago, when no religious instruction was given to the boys, and Euclid, algebra and even arithmetic were practically optional, might equally be applied to St. Paul's, where, according to Father Kingdon, in the early forties Bean, the third master, "was the only one who attempted anything like religious teaching."

The *Preces*, however, the last edition of which went back to 1718, were reprinted on Sleath's appointment in 1815.

Early in Dr. Sleath's high mastership, as we have seen, the Mercers introduced a mischievous change into the system of admission to the school, by assuming to the Court of Assistants in rotation the right of nomination to vacancies to St. Paul's, a privilege which they retained till 1876. No boys other than foundation scholars were admitted after his election in 1814, until the new scheme governing the school came into force in 1877.

Taking the 675 boys admitted by Dr. Sleath in twenty-four years, the average number of boys admitted in a year is seen to have dropped to twenty-eight, giving a mean school-life to each boy of five and a half years. Side by side with this change must be noted the fact that whereas less than ten per cent. of Dr. Roberts' pupils proceeded to the Universities, more than twenty-five per cent. of those of Dr. Sleath left St. Paul's to go to Oxford or Cambridge.

In 1818, the Mercers' Company being anxious to furnish further accommodation to the school, secured the passing of a private Bill, 58 George III, c. 22, entitled "An Act to enable the Trustees of St. Paul's School in the city of London to purchase buildings or lands adjoining to the said school, for the better accommodation of the scholars, and for other purposes."

In pursuance of this statute several messuages and plots of ground on the west side of Old Change were bought of the Bridge House Estates of the city of London, at a cost of £2,770. These only came into the possession of the Mercers in March 1819. At about the same time further property was bought from the Bishop of London for £4,000.

The building of 1670 had by this time suffered much from age. On the occasion of the visit of the Allied Sovereigns to the city in 1814, it was shored up with wooden pillars and props, in order that the safety of those standing on the roof to view the procession might be secured, and it was deemed inadvisable to remove the supports, which remained *in situ* until the building was pulled down in 1822.

The third school building, which was erected in 1824, remained in use for only sixty years, until the removal of St. Paul's from the city. The architect was George Smith, and £23,000 were spent on the building. A contemporary wrote¹ that it was "fronted with stone, and consists of a centre and two connecting wings; the former being two stories in height, and forming a portico projecting to the edge of the pavement with a footway beneath, supported on six solid square piers rusticated and surrounded by an architrave and frieze; the latter of which is incised with the original title of the building, 'Schola Catechizationis

¹ Wilkinson's *Londina Illustrata*, p. 13.



R. Harris del.

ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL IN 1876

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Puerorum in Christi Opt. Max. Fide et Bonis Literis.' The second story is composed of six columns of the Tivoli Corinthian order, sustaining an entablature having the frieze enriched with garlands and ox-skulls, the whole surmounted by a pediment. At the back of the portico, in the basement-story, are four columns of the Doric order, the intercolumniations of which are filled with screens of open iron-work; the whole of the floor beneath the school being intended for a play-ground. The second story in the centre is appropriated to the school, and contains five lofty windows corresponding in width with the intercolumniations, and above the roof behind the portico is a circular cupola, rising from a low attic, and lighted by windows placed around it. The remainder of the design, which is of the same height in the wings and intermediate parts of the building, is divided into three stories, the lowermost being also rusticated and containing entrances and windows, and the upper story having windows only; above which an entablature carried from the portico and blocking course, with acroteria over the wings, completes the elevation. The back part of the building in Old Change is of brick with stone ornaments, and also consists of a centre and wings, surmounted by a pediment, and having the ground floor open. The interior of the school itself is handsomely fitted up, and contains three tiers of seats on each side, with four desks in the centre for the masters. Above each of the doors of entrance is inscribed the founder's original motto '*Disce aut Discede*,' and the ceiling is carved & panelled with a large and handsome flower in the centre."

Benjamin Jowett, the most distinguished of Sleath's pupils, was the son of a printer in Fleet Street. He entered the school at the age of twelve in 1829, and was placed in the sixth form. Some of his exercises were copied

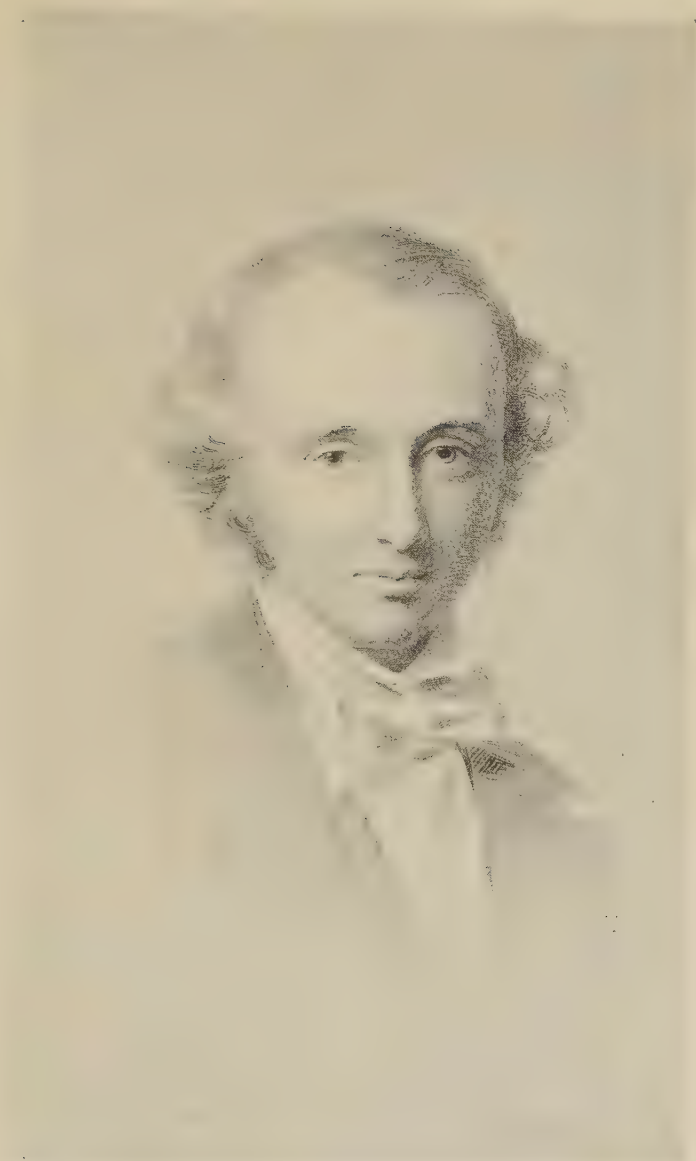
into the play book inscribed *Musae Paulinae*, and are still preserved in the school. It is said that before he left St. Paul's he could repeat by heart the greater part of Virgil and Sophocles and also the *Trilogy* and *Prometheus* of Aeschylus.

His biographers tell a characteristic anecdote of his school-life. An old statute of Colet's, by which a boy who had been absent more than a certain number of days was expelled, was about to be revived. A comrade of Jowett's had been away for a time dangerously near the limit, and was supposed to be unaware of the declared intention to enforce the rule. The door-bell at this boy's home in some far distant suburb was rung late one night, and a small figure was found on the step. It was little Jowett, who had walked miles to warn his friend of the danger he was incurring.¹

One of his contemporaries at St. Paul's recalled Jowett's appearance nearly seventy years later as "a pretty looking boy, who wore a perpetual suit of green sateen, which never got in my time to the dignity of a coat-tail, but stuck to the less dignified one of a jacket." The same writer said that on the strength of his looks he was known at school as Miss Jowett, while Baron Pollock remembered him as a young-looking boy with a round face and bright eyes, retiring in manner, but holding his own and much respected. In 1835 Jowett gained the Governor's Prize for Greek iambs, and in 1836 that for Latin hexameters. Both pieces are preserved in MS. in the library.

Dr. Sleath told John Couchman, his nephew, that Jowett was the best Latin scholar he ever sent to college, and it is worthy of notice that the *Times*, in its account of the Apposition of 1836, at which Jowett left the school as captain, said that "this year's exhibitors appear to be exceptionally good."

¹ Campbell and Abbott, *Life of Jowett*, vol. i. p. 32.



Geo. Richmond del.]

BENJAMIN JOWETT, MASTER OF BALLIOL COLLEGE, OXFORD, AND
REGIUS PROFESSOR OF GREEK

[To face p. 392.]

It is said that one lasting impression gathered by Benjamin Jowett in his school-days under the shadow of St. Paul's Cathedral was a love for classical architecture and a reverence for the work of Sir Christopher Wren.

The fact that he entered the school after his twelfth birthday prevented him from gaining any of the school exhibitions, but the Mercers' Company awarded him the Lady North Exhibition, which is in their gift, and presented him with an honorarium of £100 for cataloguing the school library. At Oxford Jowett became a Scholar and Fellow of Balliol, obtained a first in Greats, and carried off the Hertford and the Latin Verse prize. He became Regius Professor of Greek in 1855, and was elected Master of Balliol in 1870, retaining the post till his death in 1893. One need do nothing more than mention his *Plato* and his *Thucydides*, his contribution to *Essays and Reviews*, and his dissertations on *St. Paul's Epistles*.

One of the first boys admitted to the school by Sleath was F. J. Halliday, who at his death, aged ninety-four, in 1901, was probably the oldest living Pauline and the oldest living Rugbeian. He was sent to Rugby to be under Sleath, and on the promotion of the latter to St. Paul's he became a boarder in his house, where he remained for seven years. He entered the Honourable East India Company's service and was Lieutenant-Governor of Bengal during the Mutiny, receiving for his services the thanks of Parliament and the K.C.B. in 1860. On his retirement, Sir Frederick Halliday served for eighteen years as a member of the Council of India, and was for many years President of the Old Pauline Club.

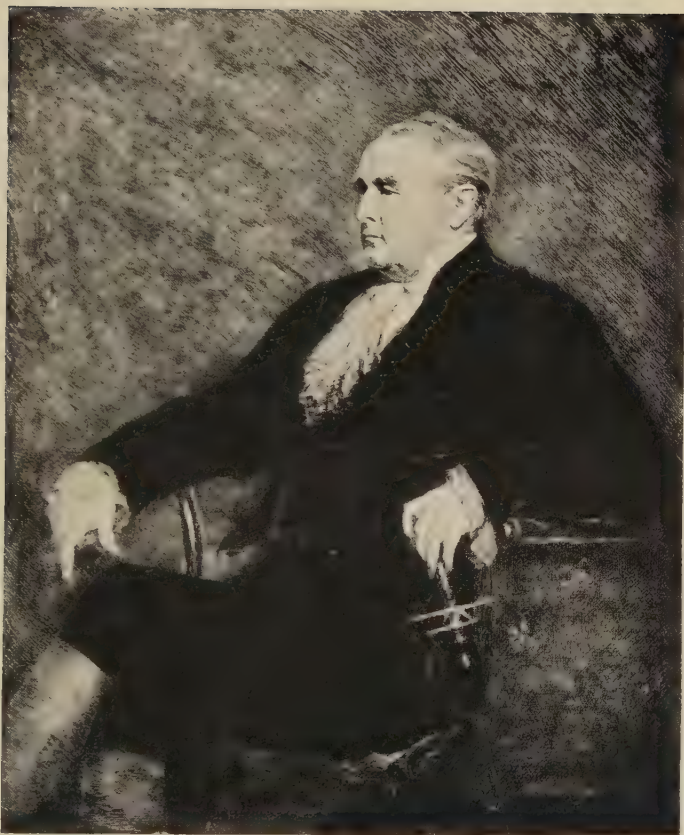
A year after, Halliday, a boy who also was destined to hold high office in India, was admitted to the school. This was Lucius Bentinck, Viscount Falkland, who held the post of Governor of Bombay, and was in addition a Privy

Councillor, Grand Cross of Hanover, and Captain of the Yeomen of the Guard.

The legal traditions of the school were well maintained under Sleath. Sir W. F. Pollock, the Queen's Remembrancer, and Sir Charles Pollock, Baron of the Exchequer, were both sons of the Lord Chief Baron who was at St. Paul's under Roberts. Sir Charles Pollock, who was "the last of the Barons," sat as judge with Russell, L.C.J., and Hawkins, J., in the Jameson trial at Bar. A letter is extant written by Sir J. F. Pollock to his elder son, a month after he entered St. Paul's at the age of nine, in which the Chief Baron said, "As you have learnt the *Propria quae moribus*, do not at present forget it."

Other lawyers educated by Sleath include William Ballantine, serjeant-at-law, the leading criminal advocate of his day, who, although he described his school-days at St. Paul's as "the blackest and most odious period of my existence," nevertheless attended the Old Pauline dinner in 1864, at which he was one of the speakers.

Police Court magistrates, such as T. J. Arnold, F.R.S., and A. A. Knox; distinguished conveyancers, like J. Bevir, Q.C.; County Court judges, such as Woodthorpe Brandon and Shelley Eddis, Q.C., or even judges of the High Courts of Greater Britain, such as Sir James Prendergast, Chief Justice of New Zealand, or F. A. B. Glover, Puisne Judge of the High Court of Calcutta, are all overshadowed by James Hannen, one of the most distinguished lawyers of the century, whom men still living remember to have seen driving daily in a pony-chaise from his father's house in Dulwich to St. Paul's. After eight years at school he went to the University of Heidelberg, and twenty years after his call to the Bar became a Puisne Judge of the Queen's Bench. Four years later Sir James Hannen became Judge of the Probate and Divorce Court, and after the passing of the first



T. Blake Wirgman del.]

JAMES, LORD HANNEN, LORD OF APPEAL IN ORDINARY

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Judicature Act he was promoted to the Presidency of the Probate, Divorce and Admiralty Division of the High Court of Justice, and was summoned to the Privy Council. He acted as President of the Parnell Commission, and in 1891 became a Lord of Appeal in Ordinary, with the title of Baron Hannen of Burdock. He served as British Representative on the Behring Sea Seal Fisheries Inquiry, and on his return he compared himself, with justice and some felicity, with Proteus in the *Georgics*, with his herd of seals, quoting the lines—

“Ipse velut stabuli custos in montibus olim
Vesper ubi e pastu vitulos ad tecta reducit.”

The *Times*, after his death, declared that he left behind no superior in many of the attributes which best become a judge.

Only one of Sleath's pupils was consecrated bishop. This was C. R. Alford, a contemporary at St. Paul's and Trinity, Cambridge, of Sir W. F. Pollock. He was Bishop of Victoria, Hong Kong, and Coadjutor to the Bishop of Huron, Canada. Prebendary J. E. Kempe, whose reminiscences of St. Paul's appeared in the *Times* in 1901, refused the offer of the Bishopric of Calcutta in 1866. He remained for over forty years Rector of St. James', Piccadilly, and Chaplain-in-Ordinary to the Queen, and was a Prebendary of St. Paul's Cathedral.

The name next to that of Kempe in the registers is that of J. W. Blakesley, who, after leaving school as captain, became, with W. F. Pollock, one of the best known of the “Cambridge Apostles.” It was to him that Tennyson dedicated one of his first published poems, calling him—

“Clear-headed friend whose joyful scorn
Edged with sharp laughter cuts atwain
The knots that tangle human creeds,
The winding cords that bind and strain
The heart until it bleeds.”

The future poet-laureate predicted that he would become Lord Chancellor, but Blakesley became a canon of Canterbury and then Dean of Lincoln.

Just a year junior in the school to Blakesley was Edward Howes, who like him became a Fellow of Trinity, after having first gained the Craven Scholarship, the Chancellor's medal, and having been second classic. In later life he sat in the House of Commons for South Norfolk. Three of Sleath's pupils became distinguished school-masters ; E. H. Bradley was for fifteen years a master at Harrow, and for an equal time head of Haileybury ; T. H. Steel was for many years master at Harrow, and W. A. Osborne, for twenty years head master of Rossall. H. H. Swinney, principal of Cuddesdon, may be mentioned in the same connection.

In 1823 the high master endowed a prize for Latin prose composition, which after his retirement came to be known as the Sleath Prize. The boy to whom it was first awarded—W. J. Copeland—was for seventeen years a Fellow of Trinity, Oxford, and was a curate of John Henry Newman, a volume of whose sermons he edited. He was said to have been the man best fitted to write the history of the Oxford Movement, a work which unfortunately he never undertook. On receipt of a copy of the *Pauline* containing his obituary, Cardinal Newman wrote in 1885, "You had good reason to be proud of him at St. Paul's. To me he was a dear and faithful friend."

Benjamin Webb, a prebendary of St. Paul's and a well-known theological writer, was a pupil of Sleath, as was George R. Kingdon, the eldest of five brothers who were at the school, from whose reminiscences I have so freely quoted. He became a distinguished member of the Society of Jesus, and was Professor of Rhetoric and Prefect of Studies at Stonyhurst College.

Of scientific men educated by Sleath, Sir Alfred Roberts

was the leading physician in the Australian colonies. In the same profession C. J. B. Aldis followed in the footsteps of his father, Sir Charles Aldis, and became a well-known consulting physician in London. He delivered the last Harveian oration in Latin at the Royal College of Physicians. Alfred Smee, F.R.S., the surgeon to the Bank of England, was the inventor of the electric battery which bears his name, and Richard King, the founder of the Ethnological Society, was a well-known Arctic explorer. Few of Sleath's pupils are known to have entered the army, but Lieutenant H. B. Melville was taken prisoner in the retreat from Cabul in 1842, and Major-General C. S. Longden, the son of an Old Pauline, served throughout the Mutiny campaign, was at the relief of Lucknow and the battle of Cawnpore, and was four times mentioned in despatches. R. S. Couchman, one of the seven nephews of the high master who were educated at St. Paul's, rose to the rank of major-general. Markland Barnard, the first boy admitted to St. Paul's by Dr. Sleath, was also the son of an Old Pauline, and, like his father, became Master of the Mercers' Company; while J. W. Butterworth, F.S.A., became Master of the Stationers' Company. C. J. Clay became the well-known publisher to the Cambridge University Press, and Charles Elder, his contemporary at St. Paul's, acquired some eminence as a portrait painter.

At the Apposition of 1834, at which were present the Duke of Wellington and the Duke of Cumberland, who became King of Hanover on the death of William IV, four years later, the two first Pauline exhibitioners were R. H. D. Barham, the son and biographer of Thomas Ingoldsby, and E. J. Bevir, who in later life became a distinguished Q.C. in Lincoln's Inn.

The account of the work done in the school in "the thirties" left us by Father George Kingdon contains some

points of interest. Lily's Latin Grammar, in its modified form, was still in use ; Greek was not begun till the fifth form was reached. A great deal of verse-making was practised throughout the school, and as for prose, the writer says that "Paulines long had a reputation for good compositions at Cambridge." In the Seventh the boys used Erasmus's *De Copia Verborum*, a book which had been continuously studied at St. Paul's ever since its dedication to the school at Dean Colet's request. The use made of this book and Lily's Grammar for three-and-a-half centuries in the school for which they were written must be a unique incident in the history of education.

In the Eighth, where Greek iambics were begun, the *Ars Poetica*, Virgil's *Georgics*, Horace's *Satires* and Cicero's speeches were read. Far more time was devoted to Greek, in which Pindar and Aristophanes, Demosthenes and Thucydides, and the tragic poets were read.



J. Walker del.]

[S. Walker sc.]

HERBERT KYNASTON, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

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CHAPTER XXI

THE LAST DAYS IN THE CITY

HERBERT KYNASTON, HIGH MASTER, 1838-1876

HERBERT KYNASTON, the successor of Dr. Sleath, came of a Shropshire family and was educated at Westminster School. The name of his younger brother, a captain in the Navy who died of wounds received in the attack upon the forts at Sebastopol, heads the list of Old Westminsters in the Crimean memorial in Broad Sanctuary. The future high master was elected student of Christ Church, and became Lecturer in Philology and Tutor of the House under Dean Gaisford. Ruskin, in writing of his undergraduate days, refers to Kynaston in these terms¹—

“It was extremely unfortunate for me that the two higher lecturers of the College, Kynaston (afterwards Master of St. Paul’s) in Greek, and Hussey, the Censor . . . were both to my own feeling repugnant. They both despised me as a home-boy to begin with ; Kynaston with justice, for I had not Greek enough to understand anything he said—and when good-naturedly one day, in order to bring out as best he might my supposed peculiar genius and acquirements, he put me on in the *Iphigenia in Tauris*, and found to his own and all the class’s astonishment and disgust that I did not know what a triglyph was—never spoke to me with any patience again, until long afterwards at St. Paul’s, when he received me, on an occasion of school ceremony, with affection and respect.”

¹ *Præterita*, xi.

After holding his tutorship for five years, Kynaston was elected high master at the unusually early age of twenty-eight. He remained at the school for nearly forty years, and although he cannot be ranked among the great high masters of St. Paul's, he had a remarkable gift of inspiring a love of scholarship in a selected number of his pupils, while neglecting the educational needs of the rest.

Several captains of the school in succession were elected to fellowships at Oxford and Cambridge, and he established what was, no doubt, an educational record in the fact that, at one time, Trinity College, Cambridge, numbered no less than seven of his pupils at St. Paul's among its Fellows.

In the memoir of Dr. E. Symes Thompson, the late Gresham Professor of Physic, his brother, who was also at St. Paul's, says that "it was Kynaston's eminent gift to impart love for good books ; and quicken the zest of a literary taste."

MM. Demogeot and Montucci, the French Commissioners who visited the chief English public schools in the year 1866, refer in their report to the "enseignement paternel et sans prétension" of the high master of St. Paul's, and say that while listening to Dr. Kynaston they could fancy themselves at the Sorbonne with Boissonnade or Egger.

Dr. Kynaston's graceful and elegant verses, written in celebration of various events of the history of the school, were recited annually at the Apposition. The best known of these, perhaps, are the *Lays of the Seven Half-Centuries*, written in the year 1859 for the three hundred and fiftieth anniversary of the foundation of the school. The dialogue "Speeches," which he maintained as a feature of the Apposition at St. Paul's, were, during his high mastership, imitated at the speech days at Eton and Harrow.

While few scholars surpassed the high master as a writer of Latin verse, his skill as an English poet only narrowly

missed securing recognition when he was beaten by but a few votes by Sir Francis Doyle in the election to fill the Professorship of English Poetry at Oxford.

Lord Truro presented the first living which fell to his gift as Lord Chancellor, that of St. Nicholas, Cole Abbey, to Dr. Kynaston, "out of respect to the memory of Dean Colet." On his retirement the high master was presented with an illuminated address, a library table and chair, and a prize known by his name was founded to commemorate his prolonged services to the school.

During Kynaston's high mastership the benefit of several new endowments was conferred on the school.

The brother of Thomas Barnes, a former editor of the *Times*, founded at Cambridge a scholarship, candidates for which must have been educated either at St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors' or Christ's Hospital. Seven Old Paulines have enjoyed the benefit of this endowment since its foundation in 1867. The scholarship falls vacant every four years, and since 1887 only two holders have not been educated at St. Paul's.

The Thruston Prize for Latin verse, in memory of Framingham William Thurston, who died suddenly of cholera, was founded in 1849 by his mother and Dr. Kynaston.

In 1840 the prize for English verse founded by the Governors in 1815, was converted into a prize for an English essay, which was awarded until the year 1863. In 1851 Sir Charles Mansfield Clarke founded the Milton Prize for English verse, and in the same year Lord Truro founded the Lord Chancellor's Prize and Medal which are annually awarded for an English essay. Until 1863 the Governors' Prize for an English essay was maintained as a second prize in the Truro competition. In 1868 Miss Hannah Barber endowed the Keen Scholarship, which is

awarded every year to the best mathematical scholar in the school at the time of his proceeding to the University.

The changes introduced by Kynaston were considerable. The school hours were shortened, first by making the time of assembling every morning in the school later than seven, the hour at which it had remained since the foundation. About 1855 the afternoon was shortened by dismissing the school at four o'clock instead of five, and in 1862 the school work lasted from nine to one, and from two to four. The abolition of the boarding-houses, which went on concurrently with the shortening of the hours of work, led to a disappearance of boys from outside London ; about a dozen of these were in the school at the time of the Royal Commission, but the boarding-houses in which they lived were totally unconnected with the school.

Kynaston suggested the formation of classrooms to the Mercers, and about 1853 some of the rooms of his house began to be used for that purpose, while the first six boys in the Eighth maintained their old privilege of working in the library. The schoolroom at Merchant Taylors' was partitioned in 1612, but the boys congregated in the schoolroom at St. Paul's were in no worse case than those of Westminster, where, until the year 1861, all teaching was done in one room, while the same conditions prevailed at Winchester and Eton for two centuries after their foundation.

The teaching of mathematics was improved by Dr. Kynaston, and in 1853, for the first time, French masters were appointed on the staff. These subjects were introduced at St. Paul's at a later date than at Harrow or Merchant Taylors', but many years earlier than at Eton. The Public Schools' Commission, however, reported unfavourably on the fact that St. Paul's was the only school among the nine which they examined in which neither music nor drawing were taught.



R. Harris del.]

INTERIOR OF THE LIBRARY IN 1876

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At some date in the fifties a rule was made by which no boy was to be admitted into the school until he was nine years of age. No boys were entitled to leaving exhibitions who had not entered the school before they were twelve years old.

It is on record that Sleath, when asked by a parent if his son would be taught mathematics, replied, "At St. Paul's we teach nothing but the classics, nothing but Latin and Greek. If you want your son to learn anything else you must have him taught at home, and for this purpose we give him three half-holidays a week." This view of half-holidays, one may be sure, did not commend itself to the boys. Early in Kynaston's high mastership a change was made extending the limited teaching of mathematics as an optional subject to the two head forms which had been introduced three years before Sleath's resignation. After teaching mathematics for five years, James Cooper, the third master, was relieved of this duty by the appointment of a mathematical master in 1843, but it was not till 1854 that a University man was appointed mathematical master, when William Lethbridge, a high wrangler, was chosen to fill the post, and the whole system of mathematical teaching was remodelled. In 1853 two French masters were appointed, of whom one was M. Delille, the author of the well-known grammar. Two of the three weekly half-holidays were withdrawn, and three afternoons, from 2 p.m. to 4 p.m., were assigned to French, the other two to mathematics. Later the Wednesday half-holiday was restored. An Old Pauline who entered the school in the year after their appointment speaks of the French masters, who "on two afternoons a week reigned supreme, if that can be called a reign where the subjects set their ruler at naught. But for the presence of the monitors the school would have been a bear garden." The monitorial system which prevailed during Sleath's and Kynaston's high masterships con-

sisted simply in this, that two second year boys in the Eighth were told off each week to keep order in any form in the event of the master's absence from the schoolroom.

In the first sixteen years of Dr. Kynaston's high master-ship which preceded the reform of the Universities, four hundred and sixteen boys were admitted to the school, giving an average of twenty-six a year, the average length of school life being six years as compared with five and a half years which was the mean during the latter part of Sleath's rule. During this period, as in Sleath's time, about a quarter of the boys who passed through the school went to the Universities.

The system of nomination by the members of the court of the Mercers' Company in rotation to vacancies in the school, each of the twenty-eight members having about two in three years, was severely animadverted upon by Lord Clarendon's Commission in its report in 1865. After speaking of the "languor and stagnancy which appear to prevail in some parts of the school," it commented on the infinite mischief done by the system of nomination in lowering the whole standard at St. Paul's. The report went on to say that "it would be a grievous injury to the cause of classical education if these principles of exclusive patronage were to obstruct admission to a school which might, and ought to become, the first in London and one of the first in Great Britain."

The causes of the decline of the school since "the palmy days of Sleath," according to the Royal Commissioners, were not far to seek. The reason for the state of affairs, although the commissioners were unable to say so, was, in part, the inability of Dr. Kynaston to maintain discipline. He abolished the use of the birch-rod, but appears to have been unable to replace it by moral suasion. A recent captain of the school, J. W. Spurling, who afterwards became master at Rugby and at Westminster, Sub-warden of

Keble and Hon. Canon of Chester, gave evidence before the Commission while a Cambridge undergraduate to the effect that St. Paul's was not on the whole a very hard-working school. In Sleath's time this could not have been said. Of the twenty-five boys who left annually at this time not more than six went to the universities, the rest proceeding to the army, or navy, or into business. In 1862 there were eleven Old Paulines at Oxford and seventeen at Cambridge, fewer in each case than the numbers of old boys from any of the eight other public schools included in the terms of reference of the Royal Commission. As a rule not more than three open scholarships were gained each year at Oxford and Cambridge.

The reminiscences of the Rev. E. L. H. Tew, who was in the school from 1854 till 1863, show some changes in the school curriculum from that to which we have referred as being in vogue about a quarter of a century earlier. Lily's Latin Grammar was still used in the school at that date. Greek was begun in the Third, not in the Fifth as was formerly the case. As in Sleath's time, there was little scriptural or religious teaching.

The same writer, speaking of Kynaston, says that "a more polished scholar, and a worse disciplinarian there could not well be." The monitors and, in fact, the whole of the Eighth, claimed the right of not coming into school till 9.20 in the morning, and the high master appears to have raised no objection.

Although, as we have seen, the numbers of boys going from St. Paul's to the Universities were less than those of any of the other nine public schools, at any rate towards the end of Kynaston's career, it must be remembered that owing to the exclusion of boys other than foundation scholars St. Paul's was a far smaller school than any of the others with which it was compared. If an average be taken of the whole

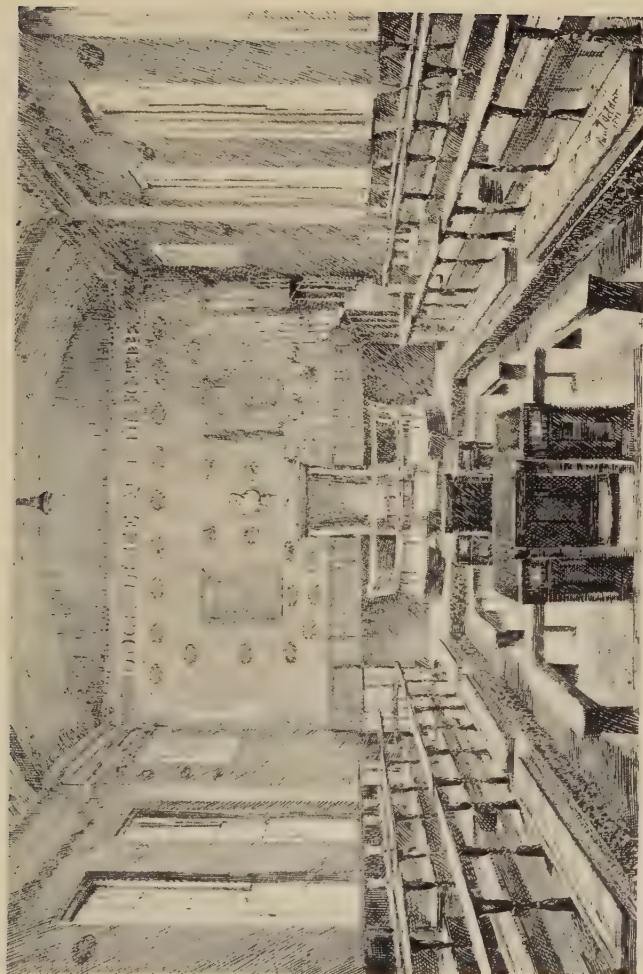
number of his pupils it will be found that nearly thirty per cent. of the boys admitted by him into the school proceeded to Oxford or Cambridge, a proportion distinctly higher than that maintained under Sleath.

Each of the masters taught about forty boys. The din of the large schoolroom, added to the ever-increasing noise of traffic in St. Paul's Churchyard, which necessitated laying down straw every year at the Apposition, so as to enable the speeches to be heard, must have made teaching almost impossible in such difficult surroundings. The lax system of discipline by which, during the luncheon hour in the middle of the day, boys were allowed to roam about the city as they wished, and the small opportunities for lunching in masters' houses which were given, must have done much to damage the school.

The absence of playing-fields and the fact that opportunities for exercise were only afforded on two half-holidays in the week, on which cricket and football were played at Kennington Oval, may well have accounted for Kynaston's regretful statement that there were not as many sons of Old Paulines in the school as he could wish.

The only change made in the school building during this high mastership consisted in the enlargement of the library by removing a party wall on the east, by which means the room was carried through to Old Change, giving a depth of nearly thirty-five feet.

Some of the facts and figures submitted to Lord Clarendon's Commission deserve quotation. In 1862, it was stated that at least a hundred of the boys were the sons of members of the learned professions, and at least fifty the sons of London clergymen. Although the boys' fathers were for the most part men of less means than those of the boys at some of the other public schools, it was said that not half-a-dozen were the children of tradesmen. Statistics



P. Holden del.]

INTERIOR OF THE SCHOOL-ROOM IN 1876

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which were submitted showed clearly the manner in which the city had within recent years ceased to be a place of residence. During Father Kingdon's school-days, from 1830 to 1840, nearly all the boys went home to dinner at mid-day. In 1859, only twenty-three boys lived within half-a-mile of the school. Exactly a third of the boys lived more than half-a-mile but less than two miles away. Thirty-two lived between two and three miles away, thirty-eight between three and five, and twenty-six between five and seven miles from the school, while fourteen lived more than seven miles from St. Paul's. The youngest boy in the school at this date was nine and a half years of age. The number of boys in each form varied from twenty-four in the Seventh to ten in the Sixth.

According to Dr. Kynaston's evidence a considerable number of boys went into the Royal Navy, but it is curious to notice how few of his pupils who entered that service have been traced in the registers.

The old-established privilege of St. Paul's of presenting an address to the sovereign on passing the school was exercised in 1845, when Queen Victoria visited the city to reopen the Royal Exchange. According to Dr. Kynaston's preface to *Corolla Nuptialis* in which the address is printed, "It was intimated . . . that it would be more agreeable to Her Majesty to receive the address from the High Master at her next levee, than to have the procession stopped for that purpose in front of the school, which was accordingly done. . . ." The verses which conclude the address were no doubt on this occasion displayed on a scroll outside the school building during the Queen's procession, as we know was done in 1863 on the passage of Princess Alexandra of Denmark—the present Queen—through the city on the occasion of her marriage to the Prince of Wales. The full address in this instance also was presented at the ensuing levee.

During Kynaston's high mastership the Apposition was on various occasions attended by different members of the Royal Family. At that of 1838, the first after Kynaston's appointment, the Duke of Cambridge and Prince George of Cambridge were present, as were the Bishops of London and Winchester and the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Howley, who at the Apposition six years later, declared that he had been attending that function for nearly thirty years. The number of bishops annually present at the Apposition, each of whom was prepared to demand a "remedy," must have satisfied even the most exacting of the boys in the school. In 1847 no less than five were present, owing to the fact that the Prince Consort attended. Among the distinguished Paulines present on this occasion was Sir Thomas Wilde, Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and another visitor who was present on this occasion as on other Apposition days about this time was Mr. Gladstone, a contemporary and friend of Dr. Kynaston at Christ Church.

At the Apposition of 1856, according to the *Times*, "the schoolroom was decorated with the flags of England, France, Sardinia and Turkey, presented by Mr. White, who brought them as trophies from Sebastopol." In the absence of further information one can only suppose that this was Thomas William White, who entered the school in 1823 at the age of eleven, and whom one may surmise fought in the Crimea.

Three years later, in 1859, the seventh jubilee of the school was celebrated, and among the six bishops who were present, those of Llandaff and of Manchester were Old Paulines. Dr. Kynaston's *Lays of the Seven Half Centuries* were recited, and were described as worthy of such an erudite and elegant scholar.

In 1864 the Apposition was attended by the present King, at that time Prince of Wales. It is interesting to note that

the captain of the school was a boy who, as Canon Clement Smith, M.V.O., was destined to attend Queen Victoria in her last hours.

Dr. Kynaston educated at St. Paul's no less than eight future bishops, only one of whom, it is worth mentioning, was captain of the school. Peter Royston, who entered St. Paul's a year after Kynaston's election, became Bishop of Mauritius, and then Assistant Bishop of Liverpool. A. B. Suter, who entered St. Paul's a year later, was consecrated Bishop of Nelson and was for a time Primate of New Zealand. G. F. Popham Blyth, the present "Bishop in Jerusalem," was two years junior to Suter at St. Paul's. His brother, E. H. Blyth, declined the Bishopric of Nassau, West Indies, in 1887, on the ground of bad health. After an interval of three years after G. F. Blyth, H. Tully Kingdon entered the school, where he founded the Union Society. He became Bishop of Fredericton, New Brunswick. With the interval of a year after Kingdon's admission, in 1848, H. J. Matthew, first Bishop of Lahore, entered the school. In 1852 was admitted the latest Old Pauline to be consecrated, C. J. Ridgeway, who after little more than twelve months as Dean of Carlisle became Bishop of Chichester in 1908. Dr. E. A. Knox, the present Bishop of Manchester, the son and grandson of Old Paulines, was the second of Kynaston's pupils to be summoned to the House of Lords as a spiritual peer, after acting for many years as Suffragan Bishop of Coventry. Lastly we must mention Frederick Wallis, Bishop of Wellington, whose arms in the Great Hall at the school are appropriately placed beside those of Bishop Suter, whose See, like Dr. Wallis', was situated in New Zealand.

Sleath educated several judges and only one bishop. Kynaston educated eight bishops but no judges of the High Court. Nevertheless the members of the legal profession

who were his pupils include many leaders at the Bar. Sir Harry Poland, K.C., was, until his retirement from practice, the most distinguished criminal lawyer in England, and Kynaston's pupils, admitted to the school in the few years from 1858 to 1864, include His Honour Judge Philip Howard Smith, Frank Safford, Recorder of Canterbury, George Meryon White, editor of the *Law Reports*, and the following three who have taken silk, R. E. Pollock, J. C. L. Coward and E. F. Lankester. The brother of the last, the celebrated zoologist, Sir E. Ray Lankester, F.R.S., was also at St. Paul's, and his contemporary in the school, J. W. L. Glaisher, F.R.S., is also a distinguished man of science. Professor E. Symes Thompson, who entered the school only thirteen years earlier than these must be mentioned here, as must A. B. Kempe, Chancellor of three dioceses, Bencher of the Inner Temple, and Treasurer of the Royal Society, and his brother, Sir J. A. Kempe, K.C.B., Comptroller and Auditor-General, the distinguished sons of an Old Pauline father.

S. A. Saunder, the Gresham Professor of Astronomy, is the third Old Pauline who has occupied that chair in little over a hundred years. The Dean of St. Albans, Dr. W. J. Lawrance was captain of the school in 1858, and was contemporary at St. Paul's with Canon W. W. Capes, for some years Reader in Ancient History at Oxford. Sylvester J. Hunter, a conveyancing counsel, became a well-known member of the Society of Jesus, and J. Leycester Lyne, better known as Father Ignatius, was described by Mr. Gladstone as one of the most eloquent preachers he had ever heard.

Harry Escombe, who entered the school in the same week as J. L. Lyne, became Attorney-General and Prime Minister of the Colony of Natal, which he represented at Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee, when he was sworn of

the Privy Council. Other colonial administrators educated by Kynaston include Sir J. West Ridgeway, G.C.B., a brother of the Old Pauline Bishop of Chichester. He was Under Secretary for Ireland when Mr. Balfour was Chief Secretary, and for eight years was Governor of Ceylon.

Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, G.C.M.G., was Governor of the Straits Settlements, and, like his brother, Colonel Montagu Clementi, formerly Judge Advocate-General in India, Sir Cecil has served his turn as Master of the Mercers' Company, has sent his sons to St. Paul's, and has in every possible way served the interests of the school. Sir R. J. Crosthwaite held high judicial office in India, and Baden Henry Powell, C.I.E., the brother of Sir George Baden Powell, M.P., was Judge at Lahore. W. M. Deane, C.M.G., commanded the police at Hong Kong.

Colonel A. F. Laughton served in the Indian Army, and A. W. Gay, D.S.O., in the Royal Artillery.

Among men of letters educated by Dr. Kynaston mention must be made of the late W. Cosmo Monkhouse, a well-known art critic and poet, Dorset Eccles, I.S.O., of the British Museum, and the late Archibald Little, a frequent writer on Far Eastern topics.

The names of the late Canon A. L. Moore, tutor of Keble, and contributor to *Lux Mundi*, A. E. Cowley, sub-librarian at the Bodleian and A. R. F. Hyslop, who after many years as assistant master at Harrow was elected to the wardenship of Glenalmond, may well close this list.

CHAPTER XXII

THE CHARITY COMMISSIONERS AND THE SCHOOL

DURING Dr. Kynaston's high mastership began the period of doubt and uncertainty as to the future disposition of the proceeds of Colet's estate, which at one time appeared destined to inflict irretrievable harm to St. Paul's School.

The surplus of income over expenditure in connection with St. Paul's amounted in the middle of the nineteenth century to £2,500 per annum in spite of the fact that the high master's salary was increased from £600 a year to £900, and the salaries of the other masters were correspondingly augmented.

A committee appointed by the Mercers in 1856 reported three years later that, after taking Counsel's opinion, they were advised that the Court of Assistants had power to increase the number of boys on the foundation, but that they had no power, without the sanction of an Act of Parliament, to remove the school from the churchyard, to sell the ground on which it stood, or to purchase other ground and erect another school outside the metropolis. Counsel further advised that the Mercers had no power to employ the surplus funds for boarding and lodging the boys as well as providing them with education.

A second committee, which was appointed in July 1859, two months before the first committee presented its report, recommended the creation of another school in the country

supported and maintained out of the surplus of Colet's estate, while the number of boys at St. Paul's, they proposed, should be increased to two hundred, accommodation for these to be obtained by throwing the masters' houses into the school.

A third proposal, which did not receive much support, was completely to alter the existing buildings in order that three hundred boys and not a hundred and fifty-three should be educated in the school.

By 1860 the whole question of the administration of the trust was becoming more and more urgent. The accumulated surplus amounted to £33,000 which yielded an income of £1,250 a year in addition to £2,500, which was the annual excess of income over expenditure.

At this juncture the Mercers took the advice of "learned and discreet men," and consulted the Bishops of London, Llandaff and Manchester, and Chief Baron Pollock, the first of whom, Dr. Tait, was an old school-master, the others being all Old Paulines.

The unanimous opinion of these four distinguished men was in favour of the removal of the school from the city, while maintaining its character as a London school.

A proposal which was warmly advocated by Mr. J. W. Blakesley, an Old Pauline member of the company, who afterwards became Dean of Lincoln, was that the school should be removed from its site not, as the bishops and the Chief Baron proposed, to another part of London, but to the country. This scheme met with much support. The buildings and site of the East India Company's College at Haileybury came into the market at this time, but before the Mercers' proposals to purchase them from the Department of Woods and Forests had taken definite form, they were purchased and set up in their present form as a proprietary public school.

It was not till thirty years later that a member of the Mercers' Company made a suggestion, never indeed acted upon, which if it had been carried out at this time would have solved the problem of the disposal of the surplus revenue, and would have saved those responsible for the maintenance of the school years of anxiety and struggle. The suggestion was that of Colonel Clementi, who recommended the establishment of a classical preparatory school for St. Paul's as the best method of carrying into effect the intentions of the founder.

At the time of which we are speaking, however, the main concern was whether the school should be removed from the city or not. The *Times*, which was at the zenith of its influence under the editorship of Delane, published in 1858 a strong leading article recommending the removal of St. Paul's from its unsuitable surroundings, and commenting very unfavourably upon the existing building in the city. "Beneath the school-room," it said, "is a gloomy cloister filled with pillars which support the upper part of the central edifice: it looks like the exercising ground of a prison rather than the playground of school-boys, but it is the playground of St. Paul's School."

Dr. Kynaston's strong objection to a removal of the school into the country, which he set out in a letter to the *Times* under the witty heading, "The Paulo Post Futurum and the Future in Rus," had considerable influence in the discussion.

The Court of Assistants, following his wishes, by the casting vote of its chairman decided to adopt the proposal recommended by the influential men whom they had called into consultation, that is to say, to remove the school from its existing site, but at the same time to rebuild it on a site within the metropolitan area.

Meanwhile, in February 1861, a Royal Commission

under the chairmanship of the Earl of Clarendon was appointed to inquire into the endowment and administration of the nine great public schools of the country. The schools named in its terms of reference were Winchester, Eton, St. Paul's, Westminster, Shrewsbury, Merchant Taylors', Harrow, Rugby and Charterhouse.

In view of the subsequent history of St. Paul's it is of interest to know what were the recommendations of the Public Schools' Commission as to St. Paul's, which in the event were never carried into force.

In their report issued in 1864 Lord Clarendon's Commission recommended that St. Paul's should be removed to a site in the north-west district of London, with about four acres of ground and accommodation for five hundred boys, the number of scholars to be increased to two hundred, the other three hundred boys paying £10 a year.

From every point of view it must be admitted that the school may congratulate itself that the recommendations of the commissioners were not carried into effect.

As a result of the labours of the Royal Commission the Public Schools Bill of 1865 was introduced, by which it was proposed to legislate for the nine great public schools included in the terms of reference of Lord Clarendon's Commission. Owing to the fact that the Mercers were engaged in litigation, in connection with which their title to the surplus property of Dean Colet's estates was called into question, they succeeded in excluding St. Paul's from the scope of the statute, which passed into law in 1868.

This Bill proposed to authorize certain commissioners to draw up constitutions for the nine public schools. The Mercers' Company appeared by Counsel before the Select Committee of the House of Lords and asked that St. Paul's should be left out of the Public Schools Bill proper, which, when carried into law, gave statutory sanction to the

recommendations of the commissioners. In spite of the adverse vote of the Chairman of the Committee, the Prince of Wales, the Mercers gained their point.

The gist of the objection of the Mercers to the proposed legislation is to be found in the statement of their spokesman in giving evidence before Lord Clarendon's Commission. "The Mercers' Company do not admit themselves trustees, in the legal sense of the term, of the Coletine estates, but they acknowledge that they are bound to maintain the school."

The question of the interest held by the Mercers in Dean Colet's estates had arisen three years before the appointment of Lord Clarendon's Commission. In 1858 Baron Lionel de Rothschild entered into negotiations with the Mercers' Company for the exchange of property belonging to St. Paul's School in Buckinghamshire, for an estate belonging to Baron Lionel at Oundle, in Northamptonshire.

The agreement was not actually completed and eventually the company declined to carry it out. Thereupon, at the relation of Baron de Rothschild, an information was filed by the Attorney-General against the company, seeking to have the agreement carried into effect, alleging that the contract for the exchange was beneficial to the charity, and further praying that it might be declared that the company and the Court of Assistants were trustees of all the estates vested in them, by conveyance from, and under the will of Dean Colet, and of estates purchased or taken in exchange by them out of the school funds, for the benefit of St. Paul's School, and for no other purpose, and ought to be applied accordingly, and that the agreement should be performed, the plaintiff undertaking to perform it on his part, and requiring the company to apply to the Charity Commissioners for power to take all necessary steps for the purpose of completing the exchange.

The company denied that there was any contract with Baron de Rothschild. They claimed to be absolutely entitled in their own right, and not as trustees, to that part of the income of the property assured to them by Dean Colet which was not required for the "Chargis Ordinary oute Paide yerely," set out by the founder at the end of the school statutes, which amounted to £80 5s.

It was, however, argued at the Bar on behalf of the company, that the "chargis" intended by the founder were not a fixed charge of £80 5s., but the charge of maintaining in its integrity the institution which Dean Colet wished to have maintained effectually and completely, and the company submitted, subject to that, that they were entitled to the surplus of the property. As to the main subject-matter of the litigation, the Buckinghamshire estates, the company stated that they were actually Colet's estates, which they had held for upwards of three hundred and fifty years, and considering the fact that the Oundle estate was only worth about £8,000 more than those in Buckinghamshire, they did not think it desirable, even if the interests of the charity alone were concerned—if a charity it were—that the exchange should take place.¹

Vice-Chancellor Sir William Page-Wood ultimately dismissed² the information and bill with costs, and without prejudice to any question as to the claim of the Mercers' Company to hold the estates originally conveyed to them by Dean Colet, and those subsequently purchased out of the surplus of any rents or profits of those estates for their own benefit or not in trust for charity.

The Attorney-General soon after filed an information seeking to have it declared that the company were trustees

¹ Royal Com. on City of Lond. Livery Cos., Rep. and App., vol. ii. 1884, pp. 36-43.

² *Times*, May 7 and 13, 1862.

for St. Paul's School of the whole of the Coletine estates, and Vice-Chancellor Sir W. M. James held that the company were trustees and were bound to account for the whole of the income of the estates held in trust for the school.¹

It was during the hearing of this second information that Sir George Jessel had occasion to refer during his argument to the fact that Vice-Chancellor Wood in the former case had been unable to suggest any reason why Dean Colet fixed on the number of a hundred and fifty-three for his scholars. "The Vice-Chancellor," said the Jewish Counsel, speaking of a judge who was an active Sunday School teacher, "has asked why the number of scholars was fixed at a hundred and fifty-three. His Honour seems to have forgotten the miraculous draught of fishes."

The decision of the Court of Chancery that the Mercers' Company were in no sense the beneficial owners of the estates of the school, and its omission from the schedule to the Public Schools Act of 1868 brought it, by mere operation of law,² within the mischief of the Endowed Schools Act of the following year, which created the Endowed Schools Commission, a body elected *ad hoc* under the chairmanship of Lord Lyttleton. A few years later this independent body ceased to exist, and its functions were transferred to a department of the Charity Commission.

One of the last acts of the Endowed Schools Commission was to formulate a scheme for the expenditure of the rents and profits of the Coletine estates. This scheme contemplated the maintenance of three separate schools, a classical school for five hundred boys, a modern school for five hundred boys, and a school for four hundred girls. A hundred and fifty-three free scholars were to

¹ *Times*, 11 and 12 Feb. 1870. *Law Journal Reports*, 1870, p. 222.

•² This is not strictly accurate. The preamble of the Endowed Schools Act applied it to all endowed schools not included in the terms of reference of the Public Schools Commission, but this part of the statute was disregarded.

be maintained in the boys' schools, seventy-seven being allocated to the classical, and seventy-six to the modern, school. This proposal, after having been altered in one or two respects at the instance of the Mercers' Company, by the Committee of the Council on Education, acquired statutory force on receiving the consent of the Queen in Council in 1876.

Public opinion, however, and the influence of Old Paulines and others was sufficiently strong to bring pressure to bear on the Charity Commission to secure the maintenance of the unity of St. Paul's School. A new scheme was made, which came into operation in 1879. The governors of the school, since 1876, comprised, in addition to the master, the three wardens and nine members appointed by the Court of Assistants of the Mercers' Company, three new representatives of each of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge and London. This governing body was empowered to establish in some place within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan Board of Works, a school for a thousand boys under two head masters, one over the classical side, which should contain five hundred boys, and one over the modern side, which should contain an equal number. It was now proposed that the high school, which was to be established out of the surplus funds, should be for not less than four hundred girls, but the number of scholarships which were to be endowed in that school was still maintained at thirty-nine. A new clause in the scheme, which was added by the Committee of the Council to the draft issued by the Charity Commissioners, provided that the religious instruction in both schools should be according to the principles of the Church of England. Under the provisions of the scheme of 1879 St. Paul's School was moved to its new home at West Kensington, and remained under the single control of Mr. Walker. The reason for this was, that so long as the number of boys in the school was less

than five hundred, it was possible to regard them as constituting one department of the school, and to allow the proviso as to the dual control of the school under a classical and a modern head master to lie dormant.

The progress made by the school, and the increase in its numbers, within a few years after the removal from the city, to over six hundred, rendered the separate organization of the modern department imperative, if the provisions of the statutory scheme were to be complied with.

The governors, in consequence, applied, in June 1891, to the Charity Commission for directions, and on consideration the Commission held that a new scheme alone could relieve the governors from the duty of establishing forthwith a dual head mastership.

The success of Mr. Walker, under the existing mode of conducting the school, had been so remarkable that the opinion of those most concerned in the future of St. Paul's led to the drafting by the Charity Commission of a new scheme, in order that the unity of the school under one head might be secured. The draft of this scheme was published on March 6, 1893.

By this it was proposed that two new lower-grade schools should be founded, called respectively Dean Colet's Boys' and Girls' School. The income of each of these was to be £2,500 a year, while the balance of Dean Colet's revenues—namely, £8,000 a year—was to be left to St. Paul's. The new schools were to be "modern" schools, containing respectively five hundred boys and four hundred girls.

By Clause 75 of this draft scheme, it was proposed to restrict one-third of the hundred and fifty-three foundation scholarships on entrance to St. Paul's School to boys not over the age of sixteen, who were, or had been, for at least two years, at an endowed school under the Endowed Schools Act, the ordinary tuition fees at which were not

more than £15 a year, or who had been for not less than three years scholars at any public elementary school in the metropolitan school district. A further provision reduced the total annual sum devoted to leaving exhibitions from £1,700 to £1,000, the yearly proceeds of the Campden Trust. Very strong feeling was aroused by the drastic nature of these proposals. The *Times* pointed out that they involved a complete change in a school which had only recently been re-established with all the appliances of a first-rate public school, and of which the Master of Balliol had recently stated that its classical and mathematical scholars had obtained more University distinctions than any other public school in the country.

Pursuant to Section 12 of the Endowed Schools Act of 1873, such draft schemes must be lodged for criticism and objection in the office of the Charity Commission for two months. They have then to remain for one or two months with the Committee of the Council on Education, and objection may be made in writing to the Education Department. They have then to be returned to the Charity Commission, whose duty it is to embody in the scheme any recommendations of the Committee of the Council. Finally, they have to lie for forty days on the tables of both Houses of Parliament, any member of which may move to reject them.

Strong recommendations were accordingly made to the right quarters by the various sections of people interested in the school who were anxious to save it from such disastrous changes. Meetings were held of the Old Pauline Club, of Old Paulines at Oxford and Cambridge, of parents of Paulines, and of assistant masters in the school, to protest against the proposed changes.

The protests were in the main concerned with Clause 75, which proposed by an artificial lowering of the standard by means of limited competition to introduce into the school

boys from elementary and secondary schools, but which by making no provision for such necessary expenses as travelling, scientific apparatus, books and athletics would prevent them taking a proper part in the life of the school. The means by which these scholars were to be elected on a basis of severely restricted competition was thought a most objectionable change from the existing practice by which all the foundation scholarships were open to free and unrestricted competition.

Power was given in the scheme to charge fees to the hundred and two scholars who were not elected from the restricted class, and it was urged that the reduction in the income of the school from the Coletine fund would make it necessary to employ these permissive powers, a line of action to which the probable reduction in the number of capitation scholars resulting from the diminution of leaving exhibitions, and the change in the class of boys in the school would also inevitably tend.

Public opinion concerning the school was sufficiently strong to cause the scheme to be modified in the month of August 1893. Clause 75 was dropped, and thus disappeared the proposal to benefit an arbitrarily defined class at the expense of the rest. The clause which gave power to burden foundation scholars with fees was retained. Under the modified scheme, the £8,000 per annum allocated to St. Paul's was no longer liable to charges for the repair of the school fabric, and the payment of exhibitions ceased to be a charge confined to the proceeds of the Campden Trust. The *Times*,¹ in a leading article, expressed "the feelings of gratification and relief by all who have at heart the prosperity of that ancient and flourishing foundation . . . the greatest, the most successful and the most popular of London day schools."

¹ August 3, 1893.

The Charity Commission, as the *Times* remarked, had retired from an untenable position, but a new provision destined to prolong the struggle enacted that the London County Council should for the future be empowered to nominate three of the members of the governing body.

The provisions of Clause 15 of a new scheme, of April 1894, limited the annual income of the school to £8,000 exclusive of the cost of permanent structural improvements. This involved a reduction, amounting to between £2,500 and £3,000 a year, in the annual grant made at that time to the school from the foundation. The means available for meeting this deficit were as follows. By Clause 58 the governors were empowered to raise the tuition fees to £30 a year. By Clause 65 holders of scholarships might be "granted exemption from the whole or any part of the tuition fees," power being given to charge them £10 a year. Thirdly, the leaving exhibitions, which amounted to £1,700 a year, were derived—excluding £930 from the Campden Trust—from a grant from the foundation which it was possible to discontinue.

The Mercers' Company, the Old Pauline Club, a hundred and twenty Old Paulines resident at Oxford and Cambridge, and the parents of Paulines memorialized Mr. Acland, the Vice-president of the Committee of the Council on Education, pointing out the objection to the presence of representatives of the London County Council, on the ground that the school was not a local school.

To the request for a more just proportion of the amount accruing from the Coletine estates, the Vice-president replied by proposing that the share of St. Paul's School should be not £8,000, as the Charity Commission had laid down, but £9,000, a sum which left the school with a very small annual surplus, which a reduction in the number of boys in the school, or a rise in rates or taxes would have turned into a deficit.

An appeal was then made to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, but after hearing the arguments the court allowed the matter to be virtually withdrawn from its cognizance in the hope that a compromise might be arrived at.

The Charity Commission, after three years' negotiations, proposed to restrict St. Paul's School in perpetuity to a maximum income of £14,000, not exclusive of ordinary repairs, the surplus to go to the establishment and maintenance of a school for girls and for other general educational purposes near London. Against this governors of the school struggled, claiming that St. Paul's should be entitled, not to a fixed sum, but to a fixed proportion of the income of the trust estates. Further, objection was raised to the proposal to extend the conscience clause to boarders.

After prolonged delay an agreement was eventually arrived at and embodied in a draft scheme of June 16, 1900, which obtained the force of law in the following October, under which St. Paul's School is now governed. Under this scheme the governing body contains no representatives of the London County Council, a conscience clause applying to day boys and not to boarders is in force, and St. Paul's School is entitled to receive annually two-thirds of the income of the trust estates, provided always that it shall in no one year receive a sum less than £14,000. At the eleventh hour a final effort was made by the London County Council to secure representation on the governing body, and at the same time an attempt, which fortunately was equally unsuccessful, was made to secure that English grammar should be substituted for Latin grammar in the entrance examination to the school. The one point gained by the enemies of a classical education was the proviso that for one-third of the foundation scholarships no examination in Greek should be required.

The fact that the long struggle was at last brought to a successful issue was in large measure due to the wise fore-

thought, tenacity of purpose, and indomitable resolution of the high master, supported as he was by the skilled watchfulness of his son, Mr. R. J. Walker. After these credit is due to two devoted Old Pauline members of the Mercers' Company, Colonel Montague Clementi and his brother, Sir Cecil Clementi Smith, who, as members of the body of trustees, were in a peculiarly good position to safeguard the interests of the school.

By Order in Council under the Education Act of 1899 the powers of the Charity Commissioners relating to the school, except of making orders for transferring lands or funds belonging to the school, are now vested in the Board of Education. It is to be hoped, however, that steps will be taken to promote a Bill to include St. Paul's in the scope of the Public Schools Act, 1868, or to place it under the protection of an Act of Parliament containing similar provisions. By such means alone can it be guarded against the danger of future attacks.

One word must be said concerning the recently created offspring of Dean Colet's benefactions. St. Paul's School for Girls, which was opened by the Prince and Princess of Wales in April 1904, has in its short career of five years, under the able guidance of Miss Gray, earned for itself a foremost place among the high schools of the country.

CHAPTER XXIII

THE RENAISSANCE OF THE SCHOOL

FREDERICK WILLIAM WALKER, HIGH MASTER 1877-1905

ON the resignation of Dr. Kynaston, the candidates for the high mastership included the Vice-Provost of Eton, but in spite of the presence of so strong a competitor, Mr. Walker, high master of Manchester Grammar School, was the successful candidate. Frederick William Walker, although born in London in 1830, was the son of an Irishman. He went to school first at the grammar school of St. Saviour's, Southwark, to the head form of which he rapidly rose and of which he became captain. On leaving this school Walker entered Rugby, where he became the favourite pupil of the head master, Dr. Tait, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury.

At Oxford, where he was a scholar of Corpus Christi College, he took a first-class in Moderations in Classics, and a second-class in Mathematics, and in the B.A. examination a first-class in *Litterae Humaniores* and a second-class in Mathematics. In the following year he obtained the Boden Scholarship for Sanskrit and the Vinerian Law Scholarship. He became Fellow and Tutor of Corpus, and was called to the Bar at Lincoln's Inn. In 1859 he was elected high master of Manchester Grammar School, where he remained for eighteen years, and raised the school to a very high pitch of efficiency. No less a sum than £70,000 was subscribed in five years, at the instigation of Mr. Walker, by the



FREDERICK W. WALKER, HIGH MASTER OF ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL

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wealthy citizens of Manchester for the development of the grammar school. At the opening of the new buildings of the school in 1871, Professor Jowett prophesied that Mr. Walker would become the most distinguished head master in England. Among the notable men whom he educated at Manchester Dr. Diggle, the present Bishop of Carlisle, Mr. Justice Hamilton, Sir Frank Lockwood and Dr. Wood, the head master of Harrow, may be mentioned.

Mr. Walker's position on assuming the high mastership of St. Paul's in 1877 was no easy one. The growth of the city, the inability of Dr. Kynaston to maintain discipline, the automatic awards of leaving exhibitions to the whole of the head boys in the Eighth, and the prolonged uncertainty as to the future of the school, had all contributed to make it appear that St. Paul's was destined to dwindle and decay.

Mr. Walker at once threw into the school two of the masters' houses, and provided room for seventy capitation scholars in addition to the hundred and fifty-three who were educated on the foundation. The staff of masters was doubled. In 1879 natural science and drawing were for the first time taught in the school. The science forms established simultaneously by Mr. Walker at Manchester, and Dr. Percival, now Bishop of Hereford, at Clifton, were the two first "modern sides" in any English public school, and Mr. Walker copied at St. Paul's his own successful experiment at Manchester. The removal of the school from the site which it had occupied for two hundred and seventy-five years, the maintenance of the old traditions amidst new surroundings, the organization of a school which after its removal increased every year until it had grown to four times its original size, all these were matters in which the genius of Mr. Walker found scope for its exercise.

The establishment of boarding houses on the removal of the school to West Kensington re-introduced an element

into the life of St. Paul's which had been absent since the early days of Kynaston's high mastership, and although the number of boarders, as would be expected in a London school, has rarely exceeded eighty, the presence of such a body of boys, mainly the sons of parents in India, the colonies or abroad, has been a valuable feature in the corporate life of the school. The whole character of the school moreover was bound to undergo a complete change under its new scheme of government, since the hundred and fifty and three scholarships were thrown open to competition, and the order went forth that non-foundationers were once more to be admitted.

The governors, with the sanction of the Charity Commissioners, purchased a site for the new school building for £41,000 in Deadman's Fields, at the junction of the parishes of Fulham and Hammersmith, and just within the four-mile radius from Charing Cross. The total outlay on the new building, exclusive of the cost of the site, was about £116,000.

The bidding for a forty years' lease of the old school rose at auction, in 1885, to £3,950 per annum, but the reserve was £4,250, and it was subsequently disposed of by private treaty.¹

On July 22, 1884, the last Apposition was held in the old school in St. Paul's Churchyard, and on that occasion Mr. Walker revived the ancient custom by which the captain of the school delivered a speech in commemoration of the founder, a custom which has ever since been maintained.

At the conclusion of the high master's reception in the evening, the oldest living Pauline, the Rev. William Hockin, responded to Mr. Walker's speech. Mr. Hockin, who was born in 1799, was one of the last boys admitted to the school by Dr. Roberts. On the following day the new

¹ *Times*, April 9, 1885.

buildings were opened by the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of Selborne, who described himself in happy terms as well fitted to perform the duty, not only as a governor of the school and a member of the Mercers' Company, but also as the official successor of Sir Thomas More, the friend of the founder, and of the first high master. The Bishop of London read a dedicatory prayer. Numerous distinguished Old Paulines were present, including Sir James Hannen, Sir Frederick Halliday and the Master of Balliol. It is said that Dr. Jowett was heard to mutter to himself as he saw the new building, "Better, better, much better."

The present school building, which stands on sixteen acres of ground, and is built of red brick faced with terra cotta from the design of Mr. Alfred Waterhouse, A.R.A., has a frontage of three hundred and fifty feet, and consists of three floors and a basement.

On the north-east of the school, with which it is connected by a pretty cloister, stands the high master's house. In the centre of the forecourt stands the beautiful bronze statue of the founder by Mr. Hamo Thornycroft, R.A., which was presented to the school by Mr. Edward Horsley Palmer. It was exhibited at the Royal Academy exhibition in 1901, and was unveiled in December 1902 by the donor's son, Mr. Greville Palmer.

This graceful group represents the great dean seated in a chair and teaching the two boys who are kneeling on either side. In the open bronze canopy in the Gothic style the skeleton dome or crown is supported by six clusters of slender columns with finely wrought capitals. The whole is surmounted by a small but handsome shrine, which contains a statue of the Blessed Virgin and Child. It is interesting to note that another member of the Palmer family, Mr. J. Horsley Palmer, commissioned Mr. F. Yeames, R.A., to paint a decorative fresco for the Royal Exchange, representing the

granting by Henry VIII to Dean Colet of a charter for St. Paul's School.

The school close on the south side of the building contains eleven acres of playing fields, on the west of which the gymnasium was erected in 1891, while near the workshops, which were built a few years later, stands the plane tree planted by Sir Richard Quain, one of the governors, to commemorate the sixtieth year of Queen Victoria's reign. On the opposite side of the close stands the swimming bath, and at the southernmost end is the cricket pavilion.

On the ground floor and first floor of the building there are twenty-four classrooms. Over the main entrance, which is approached by a handsome sweep of steps, is the art school, and over that again is a small lecture theatre, while a large lecture theatre occupies the first and second floors in the centre of the south part of the building.

The internal decorations of the school can be best described as they are to-day, and not in the comparatively bare condition in which they were when the school was opened twenty-five years ago, for, as has been said, Mr. Walker, on leaving the school might have exclaimed, "*latericiam inveni, marmoream reliqui.*" The corridors are panelled, above the lockers which line them, with panels of Carrara marble, inserted in a decorative pattern of majolica encaustic tiles, which represent at intervals the "hinds trippant," which form the school arms, and the "demi-virgin," which is that of the Mercers' Company.

On the marble slabs are cut in letters of the best Tudor style, the names of distinguished Old Paulines, arranged according to the high masters under whom they were educated, two names only—those of Milton and Marlborough—being in letters of gold. In other parts of the corridors are panels on which are cut the names of captains of the school, and of holders of leaving exhibitions.

Opposite the main entrance, in the two bays on each side of the Board room, there are large panels framed in tiles of which one records the foundation prizes of the school, the subjects for which they are awarded, and the names of the donors, while the other sets out the terms employed by Colet in the statutes drawn up by him on the foundation of the school.

It is to be regretted that the legend "Doce Disce aut Discede," which ran along the wall of the schoolroom of the old school in the city, has not been inscribed over the entrance lobby of the new school.

Hanging on the upper part of the walls in the lower corridors are the curious little black "shields," bearing the names of distinguished Paulines, which were the only decorations of the old school which it was found possible to remove to the new.

Here also is to be seen a brass tablet erected by his brother officers of H.M.S. *Centurion*, in memory of H. W. H. Beyts, who attained his captaincy at the age of twenty-two, and who was the one officer who fell during the earliest conflicts in Admiral Seymour's expedition to the relief of the Peking Legations. A companion brass tablet commemorates two brilliant young mathematicians who both lost their lives through accidents : R. W. H. T. Hudson, Senior Wrangler, Smith's Prizeman and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and A. P. Thompson, Fifth Wrangler and Smith's Prizeman, who but for his early death would have been elected a Fellow of Pembroke.

The main decoration of the lower corridor consists of stained glass windows containing in the upper part the coats of arms of successive high masters and, so as not to interfere with the view of the playing fields, having in the lower part cathedral glass, in the centre of which is a monogram surrounded by a garter bearing a motto with fine renaissance

ornamentation. Of these windows, one was erected in memory of Rev. E. H. R. Watts, M.D., one of the most inspiring science masters who ever taught in the school, another was erected by his mother in memory of E. Orme Wilson, a boy of eighteen, who died within six months after leaving St. Paul's, a third was placed in position by Dr. Collison Morley, in gratitude for the education of his son.

From the handsome central bay of the main corridor, effectively decorated on either side by three lights containing the armorials of seventeenth-century high masters, erected by the *Pauline* magazine, one passes into the Board room, which occupies a fine position in the centre of the building, and from which a long row of windows look out upon the school close.

Above the oak panelling over the fireplace at the south end hangs the portrait of Lord Chancellor Truro, by Sir Francis Grant, P.R.A., bequeathed to the school by Lady Truro. Corresponding to this, at the other end of the room, hangs Mr. William Rothenstein's portrait of Mr. F. W. Walker, the late high master, which was presented to him on his retirement. Oil paintings of two other high masters, Benjamin Morland and John Sleath, also hang in this room, and an unknown portrait in oils hanging over the door was identified by Sir Frederick Halliday, on a visit to the school shortly before his death, as being that of Richard Edwards, an Old Pauline who, in 1783, became chaplain, and in 1806 became surmaster of the school. Engravings of Dr. Roberts and Dr. Kynaston are also upon the walls.

In this room also is to be seen an interesting portrait of the Duke of Marlborough, presented in 1899 by Mr. H. C. Taylor, the work of J. van Hugtenburgh, an artist who was engaged by Prince Eugene to paint the battles of his campaigns. Another portrait of the Duke of Marlborough in

early life (after J. Closterman) was presented to the school by Captain Robert Noel in 1905.

A recent addition to these portraits, the gift of the present high master, is a reproduction of the portrait of Milton at the age of ten, painted by Cornelius Janssen, a painter who has been described as equal to Van Dyck in all except freedom of hand and grace. It represents the poet as he was when he entered St. Paul's as a charmingly pretty little boy, with a serious face beneath a closely cropped head, dressed in a tightly fitting black braided dress adorned with a neat lace frill. The chief treasure of the Board room is the bust of Dean Colet, the one relic preserved of the school before the fire. It was on it that Leland, who died in 1552, wrote this epigram—

“Eloquio iuvenes vbi Lillius illepolliuit,
In statua spiras magne Colete tua.
Quam si Praxiteles fecisset magnus et ille,
Forsitan acquasset, non superasset opus.
Hac salua statua, diuini forma Coleti
Temporibus longis non peritura manet.”

It is not known by whom this bust was executed. It may reasonably be supposed to have been a companion to the one placed by the Mercers' Company over the dean's monument in the cathedral, and it has been suggested by an expert that it may be the work of Torrigiano, who was working at Henry VII's tomb in Westminster Abbey in the year of Colet's death. In 1887 the successive coats of paint which had been laid on the bust were removed, and were found to be seventeen in number, including in addition to an attempt at “natural colouring,” such different tints as yellow ochre, pure white, umber and red terra cotta. The original colours of the bust showed hair and eyes of a dark brown tint, carmine lips, a pale, fresh-coloured face and neck, the biretta and dress being black in conformity with the statement

of Erasmus, "non nisi pullis vestibus utebatur," while the upper edge of the inner vest was found to be marked by a streak of bronze.

The eighteenth-century marble copy of this bust, described as being made "with the attitude improved," which stood on the north wall of the schoolroom in St. Paul's Churchyard, is variously attributed¹ to Banks and to Roubillac, the sculptor of the statue in the ante-chapel of Trinity, Cambridge

"Of Newton with his prism and silent face,
The marble index of a mind for ever
Voyaging through strange seas of Thought, alone."

There is earlier and better authority, however, for attributing it to John Bacon, who died in 1799, whose monument to the Earl of Chatham, the "Great Commoner," in Westminster Abbey, prompted the lines of Cowper—

"Bacon there
Gives more than female beauty to a stone,
And Chatham's eloquence to marble lips."

The Great Hall, which projects from the main building at the south-east corner, is eighty feet long, forty feet wide, and about fifty feet in height. At the north end is a large gallery of a handsome Tudor design in carved oak, and round the walls to the level of the base of the windows is carried round oak panelling, into which is inset the valuable collection of engravings of Old Paulines presented to the school by the late Dr. Collison Morley, for many years medical attendant to St. Paul's, whose generosity is commemorated by an inscription beneath his coat of arms in the central panel on the west side.

On the daïs in the apsidal south end of the great hall

¹ To Banks by Allen and Bigland, to Roubillac by Thornbury and Staunton, to Bacon by Malcolm, Wilkinson, Ackerman and Carlisle.

is placed the organ erected in memory of Benjamin Jowett, Master of Balliol. The organ, which was built by Willis in 1896, and was recently completed, is covered by an oak case, in a niche in the centre of which is a bust of Professor Jowett by Mr. H. R. Hope Pinker, the gift of Mr. James Bewsher, the head of the great preparatory school to St. Paul's, who was one of the many distinguished scholars sent up to Balliol during Professor Jowett's mastership by Mr. Walker, when high master of Manchester Grammar School. Beneath the series of coats of arms appropriately emblazoned on the front of the organ-case runs the inscription, "Benjamin Jowett alumni hujus scholae, postea deinceps in Collegio Balliolensi Scholaris Socii Magistri Paulini Parentes Amici dedicaverunt."

On each side of the apse in which the organ stands, are mosaic figures of St. Paul and Dean Colet respectively, the former holding a great two-handed sword and the latter dressed in cassock with a fur amice and cope. The details of his vestments were taken from the brass in Hackney Church erected in memory of Christopher Urswick, the chaplain of the Countess of Richmond, who is represented in Shakespeare's *Richard III*,¹ and who died two years after Colet. Below each of these figures are two decorative panels in which are represented swimming among the weeds, luce or small pike, the fish which is the symbolic *ἰχθύς* of the early Church, and so recalls at once the number of scholars in the school and its dedication to the child Jesus. Above the figures, within the apex of the Gothic arch in which the design culminates, across a pattern of white lilies on a blue ground, floats a scroll bearing the verse, "Beati qui audiunt verbum Dei et custodiunt illud."

In February 1903 the Bishop of London unveiled and dedicated the mosaic which occupies the uppermost portion of

¹ Act IV. sc. v.

the south wall of the Great Hall. This represents the finding of the child Jesus among the doctors by the Blessed Virgin and St. Joseph. The central figure, "seated in the attitude of one teaching," inspired by Erasmus' description of the figure erected by Colet in the original building, was presented by Mrs. Lupton ; the rest of the mosaic is the gift of the Rev. R. J. Walker.

The decorations of this nature in the Great Hall are completed by mosaics of Erasmus, William Lily, Viscount Campden and John Milton, which occupy the spaces between the southernmost windows on the two sides of the hall respectively. The first of these was erected as a memorial of Dr. Lupton in 1900. In 1901 the high master presented the mosaic of his great predecessor, and the Mercers that of Lord Campden, and in 1903 that of Milton was erected by the *Pauline*.

In 1891 was begun at the suggestion of Mr. Pendlebury and under the supervision of Mr. Harris, the effective decoration of the Great Hall by filling the large lancet windows with the armorial bearings of distinguished Old Paulines. The design of the mullions being of such a kind as to allow the coats of arms to be inserted separately, the work has been proceeded with gradually, but at the present moment there is room for the insertion of only four more coats.

The late high master, the house masters, the art master (Mr. Harris), the bursar (Mr. Bewsher), Sir F. P. Barnard, an Old Pauline, Mr. W. Clarkson Birch a father of Paulines, the *Pauline* magazine, the parents of Paulines, the Old Pauline Club, and the boys in the school in 1892, comprise the generous contributors to this excellent scheme of decoration.

Each of the ten large lights contains sixteen armorials, and each of the four small ones contains four.

At the top of each window, placed beside the arms of the school are those of some institution with which it is connected, including the Universities, colleges at which exhibitions have been founded, the Deanery of St. Paul's, the Mercers' Company, the City of London and the Royal arms of England under the Tudors, and during the reign of Victoria.

At the base of each window are the arms of the most distinguished of Old Paulines. Those of Marlborough and Milton are side by side, the latter being beneath those of Charles Diodati, just as in other windows two admirals, Sir Frederick Thesiger and Sir Thomas Troubridge, two antiquaries, Camden and Leland, two men of science, Halley and Cotes, and two philanthropists, Hawes and Nelson, all are represented by coats of arms placed the one beside the other. The arms of the Boyle family appear four times, in three cases impaled with those of an episcopal see. Those of the Pollocks, that Pauline *gens juridica*, are to be seen in three places. The mitres of twenty bishops, two in each window, are blazoned all round the hall at the same level in each light, and above these are the arms of great educationalists, including those of fourteen heads of Houses at Oxford and Cambridge, ranging from William Whitaker, Master of St. John's College, Cambridge, in the sixteenth century, to those of Benjamin Jowett of Balliol College, Oxford, in the nineteenth.

The library is situated at the north-east corner of the building on the first floor. It contains busts of the last five high masters, extending over a period of a hundred and fifty years. That of Thicknesse, the history of which has already been dealt with, is by Hickey, that of Roberts by Nollekens, that of Sleath by Behnes, that of Kynaston by George Halse, an Old Pauline, some of whose other work is to be seen in the dining-hall, while that of Mr. Walker,

the late high master, is by Mr. H. R. Hope Pinker, and was executed in 1895.¹

Of the stained-glass windows, the one presented by the bursar, Mr. S. Bewsher, represents Colet walking in the cloisters of old St. Paul's Cathedral. Above it is a copy of David Teniers' picture of the *Miraculous Draught of Fishes*.

The next window, erected by Dr. Lupton, the late surmaster, has a subject copied from an illuminated drawing in a MS. in the University Library at Cambridge, to which attention was first drawn in 1662 by an Old Pauline, Thomas Smith, at that time University Librarian at Cambridge. The MS. contains a Latin text of the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. Mark, beautifully written in 1509 by Peter Meghen, a scribe employed by Dean Colet and familiar to readers of the letters of Erasmus from his frequent references to "Peter the one-eyed." The illumination represents a group of three figures. In the centre is an angel reading from a scroll to the evangelist, who is writing at his dictation. Kneeling on the right is a youthful figure with hands folded as in prayer, wearing the cassock and surplice and grey amice of a cleric. Beneath him is written "Effigies ipsa D Johis Coleti Decani S. Pauli." The details of the mediæval scriptorium, which have been preserved, are of great interest owing to the statement that the room depicted by the original artist was one in the old Deanery of St. Paul's. In the next window, presented by Mr. Seebohm, the author of the *The Oxford Reformers*, the scene represents Erasmus reading the draft of his yet unpublished *Praise of Folly* to Colet and More. The scene is a room in More's house which, it is interesting to observe, was copied from Holbein's drawing at Basle. Above this window in three canopies are views of the three cities with

¹ *Pauline*, vol. xii. p. 35.

which the three friends were connected by birth or residence, Rotterdam ; London, represented by old St. Paul's Cathedral ; and Oxford, by the then newly founded College of St. Mary Magdalen.

The window on the west of the library, the gift of Dr. Carver, an Old Pauline and head master of Dulwich College, portrays Colet giving into the hands of Lily the book of the statutes of the school. Over the high master's chair is the "figure of the child Jesus seated in the attitude of one teaching," as Erasmus describes it in his account of the school. Underneath it are the words "*Ipsum audite,*" while the legend below the window is "*Haec in schola serves et observes volo.*" Above, in the upper lights, are views of the second and third buildings of the school.

Finally, in the clerestory above the shelves a small window, the gift of Sir John Watney, Clerk to the Mercers' Company, represents the interview between Henry VIII and the dean in the garden of the Franciscan Friars at Greenwich in 1513, in which Colet explained to the King the meaning of his Good Friday sermon against the evils of war, a conversation at the end of which the King, turning to the throng of courtiers about him remarked, "Let every one have his own doctor and every one follow his own liking, but this is the doctor for me." The hound introduced into the background serves as a rebus for the donor, whose crest it is.

The handsome oak chair, bearing the date 1519, which stands in the library, is of modern workmanship, the date being that of Colet's death, but its interest lies in the fact that it was made from one of the oak beams of the house at Stepney left by Colet for the use of the high master, which was pulled down about 1883, the chair being presented to the school in 1894.

Of early printed books, the library possesses the Venice

Terence of 1475 bound up in one volume, with a similar edition of Horace (1479?). Its pages are crowded with marginalia in a very early hand. Some of them are apparently in the writing of the transcriber of the Colet MS. of the *Hierarchies of Dionysius* possessed by the school, which may be that of William Lily or possibly that of Thomas Lupset.¹

There is an Ovid of 1476, a *Poetae Minores Graecae* of 1495 and a few other books before 1500. Of books produced between that year and 1525 those of chief interest are the one or two volumes of quarto Ciceros from Jehan Petit's press, the *editio princeps* of the Aldine Septuagint of 1518 with its fine rubrications, and the Polyglot Psalter of 1516. Cranmer's *Great Bible* of 1539 must also be named.

The numerous Oriental books which are to be found, show the influence of Postlethwayt and also of Gale, who, after the fire, formed the nucleus of the library as we have it now. Dr. Gale's copy of *Iamblichus* contains MS. additions by the high master himself.

Reference has already been made to the early Latin grammars and also to the Stephanus *Thesaurus* presented by Pepys to the library. The name of the diarist is also to be seen stamped in gilt letters on Baudraud's *Lexicon*.

A fairly complete set of early editions of Milton is also to be seen, and the library contains Robert Burns' copy of Milton's poems with his own autograph.

Some eighteenth-century bronze tradesmen's tokens, on which are cut views of the second school, are also preserved in the library, which now contains nearly 10,000 books. The last important addition to the library was the Blouet bequest, while in 1901 Dr. F. H. M. Blaydes, the well-known scholar and critic of Greek literature, whose eldest son was educated at the school, presented to St. Paul's the

¹ *Notes and Queries*, Ser. 6, vol. i, p. 449.

greater part of his classical library, amounting to 1,300 books. He also gave the school nearly eighty valuable specimens of marble and a large collection of curios, in addition to a fine set of eighteenth-century engravings of Italian scenery which now hang in the dining-hall.

The dining-hall, which with the kitchen occupies the whole of the upper floor of the west wing of the building, is a fine room 125 feet long and 41 feet wide. Nearly two hundred boys lunch here every day. Its main drawbacks are the lowness of the roof and the absence of decoration. Now that the windows in the Great Hall have been all but filled it is to be hoped that the arms of some of the distinguished Old Paulines who have not yet been commemorated in this way, will be emblazoned in the dining-hall, the great west window of which would lend itself peculiarly well to such treatment.

The chemical laboratory, although much smaller, occupies on the east of the school a position corresponding to that of the dining-hall on the west. Behind the chemical laboratory is the biological laboratory, and the large room to the east is the school museum.

The art school, in which there is room for ninety boys at a time, occupies the whole of the central part of the building on the first floor. Of the work done there under the able art master, Mr. Harris, who has been at the school for just thirty years, it is only necessary to point to the fact that in the public schools' drawing competition instituted by the *Daily Graphic* in 1893, St. Paul's gained the diploma for the best set of drawings which were sent in, while the artistic exhibits of St. Paul's at the Franco-British Exhibition in 1908 were admittedly far superior to those of any other public school.

Among the distinguished colleagues whose support Mr. Walker enjoyed during his long high mastership, pride of

place must be given to Dr. Joseph Hurst Lupton, who became surmaster in 1864 and retained that post for thirty-five years. He had been fifth classic at Cambridge, and was a Fellow of St. John's College, and at St. Paul's, in addition to his scholastic work, he devoted himself to the care of the library and to historical research connected with the school, his chief work being the *Life of Dean Colet* and his edition of the extant writings of the founder, in addition to an edition of Sir Thomas More's *Utopia*, whilst his contributions to the *Dictionary of National Biography* were very numerous. In 1890 he was elected preacher of Gray's Inn, a dignified position which he held at the same time as the surmastership, and during his tenure of which one might well have heard applied to him those lines of W. M. Praed—

“you'll hear
The doctrine of a gentle Johnian,
Whose hand is white, whose tone is clear,
Whose phrase is very Ciceronian.”

His farewell speech at the Apposition of 1899 will long be remembered as a singularly beautiful expression of the mind of a scholar, and one cannot do better than quote the high master's description of him as “a consummate type of Christian gentleman.”

Dr. Lupton's successor, Mr. J. W. Shepard, came to the school as fourth master in 1861, became third master in 1875, and surmaster in 1899, but resigned three years later.

Mr. Shepard was a school-master whose *joie de vivre* was reflected in every lesson which he gave, and a clergyman who was described by a very good critic as second only to Liddon as a preacher. Although Dr. Jowett offered him every Balliol living that came into his gift, Mr. Shepard was not to be enticed away from St. Paul's.

Mr. Shepard's successor as surmaster, the Rev. R. B.

Gardiner, is an Old Pauline who entered the school in 1854. While an undergraduate at Wadham, Mr. Gardiner was cox of the winning trial eight in 1863. In 1875 he was appointed fourth master of St. Paul's on the old foundation, and has therefore described himself with justice as the Mercers' "last surviving servant under Colet's statutes." For twenty-eight years Mr. Gardiner was a house master at St. Paul's, but his chief claim to the gratitude of his school-fellows lies in the pious care which prompted him to undertake the laborious compilation of the registers of the school, the first volume of which was published in 1884, and the second in 1906. In recognition of his historical research he was in 1887 elected a Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

The three masters with whom we have dealt were all appointed to the school before the election of Mr. Walker. The same must be said of Dr. A. W. Verrall, who also was for a few years an assistant master at St. Paul's.

On Mr. Walker's election, no less than six additional masters were appointed. Of these, Mr. W. G. Rutherford was recommended to the high master by Professor Jowett as "one of the few men who can really think about language." From St. Paul's he went to Westminster School, where he was head master for many years. He has been described as the greatest Greek scholar produced by England since Bentley.

M. Paul Blouet, who was appointed French master by Mr. Walker in 1877, had gained the Cross of the Legion of Honour for his gallant services in the Horse Artillery of the Imperial Guard in the Franco-Prussian war, and at the second siege of Paris during the Commune. Years after, Mr. Walker described him as the most brilliant French teacher he had ever known. M. Blouet, who wrote and lectured after leaving St. Paul's under the pseudonym of

Max O'Rell, has in his books, of which *Drat the Boys* is the best known, drawn largely from his experience as a master at St. Paul's.

Mr. C. Pendlebury, F.R.A.S., who was appointed in the year of Mr. Walker's election, is still head mathematical master, and is well known through his text books; and Mr. F. W. Watkin, F.R.A.S., who came to St. Paul's a few years later, is still the able head science master at the school. Of other Pauline masters, reference has already been made to the fruits of the teaching of Mr. Harris, the art master. Mr. J. E. King, after being for many years head master of Manchester Grammar School, has recently been appointed to Bedford Grammar School. Mr. C. Cookson is tutor of Magdalen College, Oxford; Mr. F. Carter is Professor of Classics at McGill University, Montreal; Dr. F. S. Macaulay is an elected member of the Senate of the University of London, and has educated more senior wranglers than any school-master has ever done before. The late Mr. C. J. Cornish was a well-known writer of books on "nature study," and was the contributor of a weekly article to the *Spectator*. Dr. T. R. E. Holmes, the author of *The History of the Indian Mutiny*, and works dealing with Caesar's Conquest of Gaul and of Britain, was created Litt.D. Honoris causa by the University of Dublin in 1904.

In 1888 Mr. Walker established the Woolwich and Sandhurst classes, which are now known as the Army Forms. As showing to what an extent during his high mastership St. Paul's became a training ground for military officers, it may be mentioned that in 1896 there were living only fifteen officers on the active or retired list who had been educated at St. Paul's before Mr. Walker's high mastership, while no less than a hundred of his pupils had by that date received commissions in the army. In 1900

Mr. Walker and Dr. Warre of Eton, served as the only two civilians who sat on the Royal Commission on the Education of Officers for the Army.

The Sword of Honour and the Pollock Medal at Woolwich have four times been gained by Old Paulines, and the Queen Victoria Medal has also been carried off by them. Several Old Paulines took part in the fighting on the north-west frontier of India in 1898. In the South African War St. Paul's had more Old Boys at the front than any other public school except Eton, Harrow and Winchester. Two hundred and twenty Old Paulines took part in the South African War; of these, thirty were mentioned in despatches for conspicuous gallantry in the field or for valuable services throughout the campaign, fifteen were created Companions of the Distinguished Service Order, and three were awarded the Distinguished Conduct Medal. An Old Pauline, Lieutenant G. F. Boyd, was the only officer to receive both these awards. When it is remembered that all the Old Paulines engaged at the front were subalterns or captains, the record is seen to be most remarkable.

Eleven Old Paulines fell in the war. Their names are : S. J. Carey, H. F. Clarke, G. E. Ellissen, B. H. Lee, E. O. N. O. Leggatt, H. R. Manning, A. J. C. Murdoch, L. O. F. Mellish, A. W. Swanston, J. S. Watney and L. J. Kelsey.

A war memorial, having been erected with subscriptions collected for that purpose by the Old Pauline Club, was unveiled by Earl Roberts in the school close in 1906.

Sir Edward Poynter, at the suggestion of his son, an Old Pauline, offered to judge the designs submitted for this purpose by architects who had been educated at the school. On his recommendation, that submitted by F. S. Chesterton was chosen. The monument, which consists of a circular

“tempietto,” has a base of three steps surmounted by seven columns of the Tuscan order, and an entablature with a panelled and ribbed copper dome. On the frieze is the inscription “Paulinorum virtutis in Africa spectatae recordentur posterī,” while the copper panels which surround the drinking fountain in the centre bear the names of the eleven Old Paulines who are commemorated.

The latest of Mr. Walker’s pupils to distinguish themselves in the Army are two Old Paulines who were mentioned in dispatches in connection with the Zakka Khel expedition of 1908.

Lieutenant A. B. Forman, R.A., was one of the six officers selected for special mention by the commander-in-chief in the special memorandum issued on the loss of the *Warren Hastings* off Réunion in 1896, and finally we must mention the highest distinction of any achieved by an Old Pauline officer in the Army, the Victoria Cross awarded to Captain Randolph Nesbitt, who in 1899 led a patrol of thirteen men from Salisbury, Rhodesia, and safely brought back a small party of men and women in the teeth of a thousand Mashonas.

A remarkable number of foundation prizes were established in the school during the high mastership of Mr. Walker. The first of these, in memory of the high mastership of his predecessor, the Kynaston Prize for Philology, was founded in 1877. Four years later the Bedford Prize for History was established to commemorate Francis J. Bedford, the captain of the school who was accidentally drowned in Scotland. In 1884 the Ollivant Prize for Greek Testament was founded in memory of Alfred Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, who at the date of his death was president of the Old Pauline Club, and who, sixty-eight years earlier, was captain of the school. The John Watson Prizes for Drawing and Painting were founded in 1888, in memory of a



ST. PAUL'S SCHOOL AT THE PRESENT DAY

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governor of the school, and in the following year a prize for English Literature was founded by an Old Pauline, Joshua Butterworth, F.S.A., Master of the Stationers' Company, and head of the well-known firm of law publishers. In the same year Sir Samuel Montagu, Bart., M.P. (now Lord Swaythling), whose eldest son, Hon. Lionel Montagu, was educated in the school, founded a prize for German which bears his name.

The Lupton Prize, which was founded in 1900, is awarded for a knowledge of the Bible and the Book of Common Prayer, and commemorates the surmastership for thirty-five years of Dr. J. H. Lupton. In 1902 an Old Pauline endowed by his will prizes for original work of a scientific and practical nature, which he had annually awarded from 1884 till the date of his death in memory of his father, Alfred Smee, F.R.S., who also was an Old Pauline. Finally, in 1904, W. H. Winterbotham, Official Solicitor to the High Court of Justice, the father of seven foundation scholars in the school, founded the Winterbotham Scholarship, which is held by the head classical boy during his last year at the school.

The Master of Balliol, in his speech at the opening of the new school buildings in 1884, said that he could remember the palmy days of St. Paul's under Dr. Sleath, when there were at one time five or six Fellows of Trinity College, Cambridge, from among its scholars. "The school," Professor Jowett continued, "is beginning again under new auspices, and far more favourable conditions than hitherto. I wish you a success worthy of your old traditions, worthy of your able and distinguished high master, who is so deservedly popular among you, worthy of the noble building in which you are assembled, and worthy of the great man who was your founder."

Never have wishes been more completely fulfilled. Not

even Shrewsbury, when at the height of her career, could point to so consistently successful an academic record as could St. Paul's under Mr. Walker. The phenomenal success of the school reached its climax in 1899, when twenty-nine open scholarships were gained at Oxford and Cambridge, including two at Balliol, Oxford, and three at Trinity, Cambridge.

Twenty-six college fellowships have been held by Mr. Walker's pupils at Oxford and Cambridge, and in 1900 the high master was able to announce that St. Paul's had repeated its achievement of the days of Sleath, in that five of its alumni were at the same time holding fellowships at Trinity College, Cambridge.

Of the ten holders from 1892-1901 of the Derby Scholarship at Oxford, which is awarded to the man who has gained the greatest number of distinctions in classical learning, five were Old Paulines. In ten years the Hertford Scholarship was eight times gained by Mr. Walker's pupils. Old Paulines gained twelve Craven, and fourteen Ireland, Scholarships.

The Pauline honour list includes also seven Gaisford Prizes for Greek, seven Chancellor's Prizes, three Boden Scholarships for Sanskrit, two Eldon Scholarships for law, two Newdigate Prizes, two Hall Houghton Prizes, a Liddon Memorial Scholarship, an Abbott Scholarship and a Cobden Essay Prize.

At Cambridge Pauline distinctions have been no less remarkable. They include seven Chancellor's Medals, two Porson Prizes, two Battie Scholarships, and two Whewell Scholarships.

Two Old Paulines won Sir William Browne's Medal, two gained the Craven Scholarship, and two the Member's Essay Prize.

Four Stewart of Rannoch Scholarships were carried off

by Mr. Walker's pupils, and three Allen and two Bell Scholarships were gained by Old Paulines. The Adams, the Mason, the Tyrwhitt, and the Winchester Prizes have each been gained once by Old Paulines, and six successive pupils of Mr. Walker have won the Barnes Scholarship, which is open to the competition of Old Boys from St. Paul's, Merchant Taylors' and Christ's Hospital.

Before Mr. Walker became high master of St. Paul's, only two Old Paulines had ever been senior wranglers at Cambridge. Of these, the first, Samuel Vince, became Plumian Professor of Astronomy, and Jonathan Pollock rose to be Lord Chief Baron of the Exchequer. Four of Mr. Walker's pupils became senior wranglers, and seven have gained what has recently been a still more coveted honour, the Smith's Prize.

When it is remembered that the first Pauline admitted to the school in Mr. Walker's high mastership is only just forty-five years of age, and that, therefore, the careers of most of his pupils are only just begun, it will be admitted that the record of the boys educated by him at St. Paul's include many of marked distinction.

We have already seen the results of his training in the careers of his pupils who have entered the Army. To these may be added the Egyptian Orders of the Medjidieh awarded to Captain E. C. Midwinter, D.S.O., and H. F. Barber, and that of the Osmanieh gained by Captain M. G. Manifold.

Mr. Walker educated G. T. Walker, a Fellow of the Royal Society, and another of his pupils, Professor Bertram Hopkinson, is the present occupant of the Chair of Mechanism at Cambridge. The University laboratory was erected as a memorial to his father and brother, the latter of whom was killed in the Alps while a school-boy at St. Paul's. Dr. C. G. Seligman is an anthropologist distin-

guished for his researches among the Veddas of Ceylon, A. B. Cook is Reader in Classical Archæology at Cambridge, Kirsopp Lake is Professor of New Testament Exegesis at the University of Leyden. At Oxford W. M. Geldart is All Souls' Reader in English Law, and C. R. Beazley is Professor of History at the University of Birmingham, while G. M. Hildyard is Reader in Equity to the Council of Legal Education.

Harold Hodge is editor of the *Saturday Review*, and among other distinguished Pauline men of letters may be mentioned Laurence Binyon, G. K. Chesterton, Edward Thomas, Laurie Magnus, Vaughan Cornish and Martin Hardie.

The late S. A. Strong, who was Librarian to the House of Lords and to the Duke of Devonshire, and was noted for his knowledge of Sanskrit and his study of renaissance art, was educated at St. Paul's, as was the newly appointed member of the chapter of St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon S. A. Alexander, who for several years held the post of Reader to the Temple, and who some years ago was nominated to a canonry of Hereford at a time when his standing as a clergyman was not sufficiently long for his appointment to be valid.

Four of Mr. Walker's pupils are masters at Eton College, two are on the staff at Winchester and others are at Harrow, Westminster and Marlborough.

Several Old Paulines exhibit every year at the Academy and other exhibitions. Chief among these may be named Geoffrey Strachan, R.B.A.

It must not be forgotten that more than a hundred of Mr. Walker's most brilliant pupils have for a time hidden their light under a bushel by passing into the higher branches of the Civil Service, at home, in India, in Egypt and in the colonies. One may expect to hear much of

them in the future as permanent heads of departments at home and as leading administrators abroad.

The time has not yet come for a full appreciation of the services of Mr. Walker to St. Paul's to be written. Of his influence on the course of education in England, it is enough to say that he was the one head master of his time who attempted to show that education of the best possible kind, both moral and intellectual, could be given in surroundings different from those of the stereotyped public boarding schools.

Mr. Walker's appreciation of the value of the blend of a corporate school life with the amenities of the home was the first important factor in the history of English education since the establishment of the numerous Victorian public schools.

His insistence upon the value of a wise parental influence, which, he was never tired of asserting, could in no circumstances be vicariously wielded by a school-master, caused him, as many parents can testify, to be not merely the sage guardian of countless Paulines, but also in many instances, the guide, philosopher and friend of their fathers and, perhaps, even more of their mothers.

The kindness of heart which he concealed under a stern exterior was totally free from that sentimentality which in some school-masters tends to make their pupils prigs.

His unquestioned authority in the government of the school was due to the benevolent despotism which he exercised and to the full measure of latitude, free from petty interference in non-essentials, which he allowed to masters and to boys alike.

The unswerving purpose with which he pursued his ideals made him the central figure in the fighting line, during the long struggle with the doctrinaires of a public department through which the school was compelled to

pass, and the modesty which made him dislike all personal distinction caused him to regard the academic and other successes of his pupils not, as has been unjustly said of him, as of intrinsic value, but merely as the first step in the development of the careers of those who had been entrusted to his charge. No public school-master of our day has more richly deserved that praise applied by Cowley to his old master at Westminster that "he taught but boys but he made them men." The four thousand Paulines who passed through St. Paul's during the twenty-nine years of Mr. Walker's high mastership owe much to his discernment of character, to his rigid sense of justice, and to his careful foresight, but more than all they are indebted to him for the early inculcation of a serious habit of mind and for a constant example of a man who with unerring instinct could distinguish between things of importance and things that are vain.

Professor Jowett's ungrudging admiration of Mr. Walker has already been referred to. During the last three or four years of Jowett's life, Mr. Walker had some difficulty in escaping the gift of a large sum of money which the Master of Balliol was desirous of spending on St. Paul's, but which the high master thought it his duty, if possible, to evade. Few who heard it will forget the touching words of the high master's commemoration of the great Old Pauline at the Apposition of 1894. Mr. Walker, speaking of Jowett, said that in the last weeks of his life "he gave days and nights of labour to what he held to be the interests of St. Paul's, and less than a week before his death, when it was plain that his death was nigh, he summoned me to his side, and with all his accustomed lucidity gave me counsel and direction respecting the future of St. Paul's, and—what I shall never again receive from any—loving and fatherly encouragement."

Among those who have been chosen to be high master of St. Paul's there have been great names, such as those of Lily and Malym, Mulcaster and Gill, Gale and Postlethwayt, Thicknesse and Sleath, but not one of these has come so near to the founder's ideal of what his high master should be—"an honeste and vertuouse and lernyd man"—as has Mr. Walker.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONCLUSION

ALBERT ERNEST HILLARD, HIGH MASTER, 1905

ON the resignation of Mr. Walker, the Rev. A. E. Hillard was appointed to succeed him in May 1905. Dr. Hillard, who was a scholar of Christ Church, took a first in both Mods. and Greats at Oxford, and immediately after taking his degree was appointed to Clifton College, where he remained as assistant master and chaplain for nearly ten years. In 1899 he became head master of Durham School, and became well known as the author of a number of textbooks on classical and biblical subjects which are in general use throughout the public schools.

His successor at Durham became head master of Uppingham a short time afterwards.

Dr. Hillard's appointment to the high mastership was made less than four years ago. It is therefore impossible to do more than devote a few lines to the changes which he has introduced into the school, while at the same time he has maintained the essential features which made Mr. Walker's administration so successful, a fact which is shown by the twenty-two scholarships gained by his pupils at Oxford and Cambridge this year.

The new pronunciation of Latin, which was introduced in 1908, has brought St. Paul's into line with most other public schools where the traditional method has been abandoned.

The development of the modern side of the school has been marked by the appointment of additional science and modern language masters, and German, which was formerly only an optional subject, has become part of the regular curriculum in certain forms.

The quater-centenary buildings, which have been erected, at a cost of £10,000, on a piece of land purchased for the purpose on the north of the swimming bath, and which reproduce in colour and design the main buildings of the school, contain six rooms, each of which is to serve as a classroom, lecture-room and laboratory. They were opened on July 7, 1909, by Lord Curzon of Kedleston, the Chancellor of the University of Oxford.

Sunday morning services are held in the Great Hall at intervals throughout the term, and the Bishop of London has instituted a special annual confirmation service for Paulines at St. Paul's Cathedral.

The new playing field of eight acres which has been opened has relieved the pressure on the school ground. The rifle range has been enlarged, and shooting has been made compulsory, while the creation of school prefects has added to the responsibility vested in boys chosen out of the head forms. A junior debating society has been started for the benefit of the lower school.

By the will of Mrs. Charlotte Sarah Greenhill, a sum of £5,000 has been left to St. Paul's School to found a "Gainer" Scholarship for classics or Eastern languages, or either or both, tenable at Pembroke College, Oxford.

The bequest was intended by Mrs. Greenhill as a memorial of her brother, William Charles Gainer, a barrister of the Inner Temple, who was one of the last boys admitted to the school by Dr. Sleath in 1838, and who died in 1892. The old-world ways and dress of Mr. Gainer caused him to be known for many years in St. James's as "the master of Boodles."

The foundation of an Oration Prize has been a fitting addition to the awards in a school the traditions of which come down from the earliest English humanists, a band of men who had a strong belief in the educational value of the art of rhetoric.

A Geography Prize was founded in 1906 by the Hon. R. W. Hamilton, Judge in Mombasa, one of the three sons of Sir Robert Hamilton, Governor of Tasmania, who were educated at St. Paul's.

The part taken by St. Paul's in the celebrations of the tercentenary of its greatest alumnus in 1908 consisted in the fact that an Old Pauline, Mr. Laurence Binyon, was chosen to write the ode which was read at the commemoration service on the poet's birthday at the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, while Sir Frederick Bridge delivered a lecture at the school on "Milton and Music," with illustrative examples rendered by the choristers of Westminster Abbey.

The quater-centenary celebrations at the school this year have included a performance of *Comus*, and a dinner to Old Paulines given by the governors. The opening of the quater-centenary buildings was attended by a distinguished company, which included two Old Pauline bishops, Dr. Knox of Manchester and Dr. Ridgeway of Chichester.

* * * *

The oldest school society at St. Paul's is the Union, a mixture of debating society, library and club, to which only boys in the head forms are admitted by ballot.

It is the oldest public school debating society in England, having been founded in 1853. Its first president, H. Tully Kingdon, and its first treasurer, H. J. Mathew, both became bishops. At the anniversary meeting, which is held every year in September, a large gathering of Old Paulines assemble, and in 1903 the jubilee of its foundation was marked by the decoration and refurnishing of its room.

In recent years four Old Paulines have been elected president of the Oxford Union and three of the Cambridge Union. In the year 1899 two successive presidents of the Unions, both at Oxford and Cambridge, were Old Paulines. The connection between Paulines and the Union at Oxford does not appear to go back so far as does their association with that at Cambridge, where two of the "Apostles" who were educated at St. Paul's, W. F. Pollock, afterwards Sir W. Pollock, and J. W. Blakesley, afterwards Dean of Lincoln, were elected president of the Union nearly eighty years ago.

The Old Pauline Club, the first president of which was Dr. Ollivant, Bishop of Llandaff, now comprises nearly a thousand members. It holds several dinners each year, and frequent donations are made by it to various institutions in the school. It has recently started the publication of an *Old Pauline Gazette*, and among its offshoots are cricket, football, golf and swimming clubs.

Of other school societies the oldest is the Musical Society, which was founded in 1859, and which holds concerts twice a year, in addition to frequent organ recitals.

The youngest is the Field Club, founded in 1896, which is the fruit of the late Mr. C. J. Cornish's devotion to natural history.

Of school magazines, the earliest which is known to have been produced at St. Paul's is one called *The Hermes*; the only issue of which known to be in existence was purchased for the library at a book sale in 1894. "For many years," says the address of the editors of this number, which was produced in 1832, "a paper has been published in this, our Temple of Learning, under the denomination of *Hermes*."

The Hermes ran to ten numbers. A rival, called *The*

Pauline, was started in November 1831, but only three numbers were produced, and it died in the following May.

In 1836 a new *Pauline* was launched, but it proved even less successful than its predecessor, and ceased publication within the year owing to the fact that an article entitled, "Take snuff," had given offence to Dr. Sleath.

No other magazine appears to have been started from this date until 1882, when the present *Pauline* began its successful career, which has continued without intermission until the present day.

The Pauline has lasted for nearly thirty years. It is edited and managed by a committee of masters and boys, and a token of its success is to be found in the various schemes for the decoration of the school which have been assisted from its funds, and the various prizes for the athletic sports which it has presented. At least six numbers a year are produced, and it has now reached its 175th issue.

Of unofficial magazines produced in recent years, the most interesting was *The Debater*, a short-lived periodical of which in his Apposition Speech in 1892 the high master spoke as "an unrecognized publication, to which indeed I should hesitate to give my *imprimatur*, but which gives promise that its writers, though not many of them are highly distinguished in their several classes, may yet reflect credit on their ancient school."

It is interesting in view of this to note that the leading spirits in the production of *The Debater* were G. K. Chesterton and E. C. Bentley, of the *Daily News*, R. E. Vernéde, one of the most entertaining of modern novelists, and L. R. F. Oldershaw, the present secretary of the Old Pauline Club.

The lineal descendant of *The Debater* was the *Union Magazine*, nine numbers of which were issued in 1894, and for the rest one need only mention *The Army Form Gazette*,

The Microtome, *The Octopus* and *The Octavian*, all of which ended their fitful, and sometimes stormy, career after a few months.

Although the present school Rowing Club was founded in 1881, records of Pauline rowing go back to a much earlier date than do those of any other form of athletics. From the reminiscences of Dr. C. Lempriere, contributed a few years ago to *The Taylorian*, it appears that about the year 1830 R. H. D. Barham, the son of Thomas Ingoldsby, "rowed stroke of the St Paul's School four-oar in a race which Merchant Taylors' won against them." Mr. A. Gordon Pollock, O.P., tells me that the silver rudder won by his father in 1834 as cox of the last Pauline boat which beat Westminster on the Thames used to be preserved by his uncle, Sir Charles Pollock.

In 1836 A. K. Granville stroked the first Cambridge crew which defeated Oxford. I am told that Spencer Vincent got his rowing Blue at Cambridge about 1848, but I can find no record of the fact, and I believe that many years elapsed before another Old Pauline rowed in the University boat race. In 1856, however, there were two Old Paulines in the Oxford boat, W. F. Stocken and J. H. Thorley, the latter of whom also stroked the Oxford boat in 1857 and 1858. C. H. Roberts coxed the Cambridge boat in 1872.

The greatest oar ever produced by St. Paul's was undoubtedly T. Drysdale, who, in addition to gaining his Blue for Rugby football and winning the Colquhoun Sculls, rowed for Cambridge in 1902, a year in which H. W. Adams rowed in the Oxford boat. In the following year Adams rowed again as secretary of the O.U.B.C., and St. Paul's was represented in the Cambridge boat, both in that year and in the following year, 1904, by B. G. A. Scott, who steered.

Two other rowing Blues, A. W. Swanston and R. M. Peat, who rowed for Cambridge and Oxford in the years 1898 and 1907 respectively, deserve mention here as having had a part of their education at St. Paul's.

In connection with the first athletic sports at the school a pair-oar race was rowed in 1861 from Mortlake to Hammersmith.

A rowing club which was formed about 1865 appears to have been short-lived, and as has been said the existing club dates only from 1881.

In 1902 a number of Old Paulines commemorated the fact that an Old Pauline was rowing in the Oxford, and another in the Cambridge, boat by presenting a clinker four to the club, for the annual race against Cheltenham College. This fixture, which was started in 1896, has been followed by an annual race against Winchester College since 1905.

The eight has more than once rowed against Bedford Grammar School, and has frequently competed with success at Molesey regatta, but so far the ambition of the school to send a boat annually to Henley has not been realized.

The Rev. A. S. Thompson, in his memoir of Professor E. Symes Thompson, speaking of the late forties, says that Copenhagen Fields was the cricket ground of St. Paul's, and when the cattle market was built on that site, a pitch was obtained at Kennington Oval. The move to the Oval took place before 1854. In Mr. Thompson's time the schools played by St. Paul's included Rugby, Marlborough, Merchant Taylors' and the City of London. The cricket fixtures in recent years have included matches against Tonbridge, Sherborne, Dulwich, Bedford Grammar School, I Zingari, the Mercers' Company, Merton, Oriel, B.N.C. and Peterhouse. The Colts play the Charterhouse Maniacs and the Haileybury Colts.

Of Old Pauline cricketers, E. S. and A. R. Littlejohn have played for Middlesex for several years, R. H. de Montmorency obtained his Blue for Oxford in 1899, and two years later J. Gilman obtained his Blue for Cambridge.

Lacrosse was formerly played in the Easter term, but its place has been taken by hockey, while the new playing field enables more games of football to be played at a time than was formerly the case. In spite of the abandonment of the game at the school a considerable number of Old Paulines have played lacrosse for Oxford in the course of recent years.

At fives St. Paul's plays Winchester, Haileybury, Merchant Taylors', Dulwich and Bedford Grammar School.

Football was introduced into the school, to the intense disgust of Dr. Kynaston, about 1867. St. Paul's was one of the first clubs to join the Rugby Union. The chief matches which are now played are against Merchant Taylors', Bedford Grammar School, Leys' School and Dulwich College, while one or more colleges at Oxford and Cambridge are, as a rule, also played during the season.

The most distinguished players whom the school has produced are C. M. Merritt, who obtained his international cap for Canada in 1896, and R. O. Schwarz, who was an English international in 1899.

A number of Old Paulines have gained their Blues at Oxford and Cambridge for Rugby football. F. S. Baden Powell played for Oxford in 1875. In 1893 R. O. Schwarz, who was in the South African cricket team in 1904, played football for Cambridge. A. C. Rayner Wood was in the Oxford team in 1895 and 1896. In 1897 C. E. Barry was captain of the Oxford team, and in the following year W. H. Peat played for Oxford and J. G. Fordham for Cambridge. T. Drysdale played for Cambridge in 1902.

The first athletic sports were held at Old Battersea Fields, or what is now called Battersea Park, in 1861.

The annual sports have been the occasion of the only two Royal visits since that of the present King as Prince of Wales in 1864. In 1894 the Duchess of Albany distributed the prizes, and in 1897 that office was performed by Princess Mary Adelaide, Duchess of Teck.

The Shepard Challenge Cup, which goes to the winner of the largest number of events, was established in memory of the tenure of the presidency of the Athletic Society by the late surmaster, a position in which his successor, Mr. R. F. Cholmeley, worked unceasingly during twenty years.

T. St. C. Smith gained his Blue for the "hundred" in 1897. E. H. Cholmeley won the high jump for Cambridge in the same year, and F. B. Macnutt ran for Cambridge in 1898. Other Blues include S. A. Tippetts, for the half mile in 1900; R. P. Franklin, for the long jump in 1907; and T. H. Just, the amateur champion, who was president of the C.U.A.C., for the half mile in 1907, 1908 and 1909.

Three Old Paulines competed in the Olympic games of 1908.

The gymnasium was built in 1890. The championship shield in the Public Schools' Gymnastic Competition at Aldershot has twice been won by St. Paul's, in 1897, and again in 1907, while in 1898 the school was third, in 1900 fifth, and in 1906 fourth in the competition.

Gymnastic matches have been held at intervals against Charterhouse, Haileybury and Dulwich.

The greatest of all Pauline athletic successes have been in boxing. In the annual Public Schools' Boxing Competition at Aldershot St. Paul's has during the last fourteen years won the feather-weights seven times, the light-weights six times, the middle-weights eight times, and the bantam-weights on the only occasion since they were introduced.

That various Old Paulines have gained their Half-blue for boxing at Oxford and Cambridge goes without saying in view of this record. B. G. A. Scott, the cox of the University boat, boxed for Cambridge in 1903, G. A. Lilly for Cambridge in 1908 and 1909, A. Mains for Oxford in 1907 and 1908, and J. W. Rutherford for Oxford in 1909.

Other Half-blues obtained by Old Paulines include that of P. G. Pearson, who played tennis for Oxford in 1897 and the three succeeding years, and those of R. H. de Montmorency, who played golf for Oxford 1897-8, and also played racquets for the University in 1899.

In 1900 the school swimming bath was opened. Water-polo matches and races are held annually with Harrow, Charterhouse, Bedford Grammar School, Dulwich and Oxford University.

The school Cadet Corps was established in 1890, and was attached to the 2nd (South) Middlesex Volunteer Corps. Since the formation of the Territorial Army it has formed a part of the Officers' Training Corps, and musters about a hundred and fifty strong.

St. Paul's has every year sent a detachment to the Public Schools' Brigade Camp ever since the establishment of that event. Although the Ashburton Shield and the Spencer Cup have never been carried off by a Pauline team, the school was sixth in the Ashburton competition in 1897, and after having been in 1901 within one point of winning the Cadets' Challenge Trophy, a Pauline team succeeded in gaining that prize in 1904. In 1906, the first year in which the competition was entered for, a team of five Old Paulines, led by Captain Langford Lloyd, D.S.O., succeeded in carrying off the Public Schools' Veterans' Shield at Bisley.

The organization of the school athletics has benefited much from the establishment of compulsory games on one afternoon a week, which took place in 1896. For this pur-

pose the whole school was divided into five sections, each of which devoted one afternoon a week to athletics. Since the opening of the new playing fields, in October 1908, the school has been divided into a senior and a junior division, and on each of the two weekly athletic afternoons one of the divisions is out of school.

In 1899 the school was divided into six permanent clubs for athletic purposes. Of these clubs one consists of boarders, and the rest of the school is evenly divided among the others, which are named after the master who is their president, and who controls them with a captain and committee of boys.

* * * *

At the Apposition banquet in 1846 Lord John Russell, in a glowing phrase declared that "but for St. Paul's School Milton's harp would have been mute and inglorious and Marlborough's sword would have rusted in its scabbard."

The superlative fame of the two greatest alumni of the school has perhaps been allowed too much to overshadow the host of lesser, but still great, men who had their education at St. Paul's. After the death of the first high master the school has only for a comparatively short period under Dr. Gale and his successors, drawn its boys from the class of hereditary statesmen, but in spite of this, the Woolsack has twice been occupied by Paulines, and the school can boast a Prime Minister and two Speakers of the House of Commons, while the names of its alumni can be found among the lists of Secretaries of State, of Lords of the Admiralty, of Lords Privy Seal, of Lords President of the Council, of Chancellors of the Duchy of Lancaster, and of Chief Secretaries for Ireland.

Old Paulines have represented their country as ambassadors at the Courts of Spain, of Prussia, and of Morocco, in Paris and Vienna, at the Hague, in Venice and in Constantinople.

Thirty-three episcopal Sees have been occupied by alumni of the school, and thirteen cathedral chapters have been governed by Old Pauline deans.

Eleven judges of the Courts of Chancery, King's Bench, Common Pleas or Exchequer, or of what is now called the High Court of Justice of England, have been Old Paulines, and four of their school-fellows have been judges of the Supreme Courts in the colonies. Ten Ministries of the Crown in the last two centuries have had an Old Pauline as one or other of their law officers, and St. Paul's can claim the unique distinction that in the course of twelve years, from 1829 to 1841, three of its alumni held the post of Attorney-General.

Six heads of Houses at Oxford and ten at Cambridge, four University Professors at Oxford and ten at Cambridge, have been educated at St. Paul's, and the school can point to six senior wranglers, the largest number to which any public school can lay claim, since Eton has educated only five and Harrow not more than three.

The chief boast of St. Paul's will always be that it is the oldest English school which has been humanistic from its origin, and that it has gloried in maintaining that tradition for the whole four hundred years of its existence. "For many generations," says a writer in the Cambridge *History of English Literature*, "the masters of St. Paul's School maintained its reputation as the home of classical learning. It became the Deventer or Schlettstadt of England," and it must not be forgotten that a learned German scholar, Dr. Hartfelder, when writing a few years ago upon *Der Ideal einer Humanistenschule*, chose St. Paul's under Mr. Walker as his theme.

In spite of the fact that no ancient associations linger about its site, St. Paul's is as ever jealous of its traditions of former centuries. The names of its high master, its

surmaster, and its Apposition bear testimony to this. The term "remedy," which persists as the name for a holiday, is also to be found among Winchester "notions." The founder's statute is still obeyed : "I will also they shall haue noo remedies. yff the Maister grauntith eny remedies he shall forfeit xls. tociens quociens Except the kyng or a arche bisshopp or a bisshopp presente in his owne persone in the Scole desyre it."

It is curious to remember that on the occasion of the visit of the present King when Prince of Wales, his request for an extra week's holiday was refused on account of this statute. As it happened there were seven bishops present, and on the Prince's behalf each at once claimed his right to ask for a "remedy," and the week's holiday was therefore not lost.

In conclusion, one may say that the names engraved upon the walls of the school, the arms emblazoned in the windows of the Great Hall, keep green the memory of the great Paulines of the past, and serve to remind the Pauline of to-day that he "was nursed upon the self-same hill," and impress upon his mind how great is the inheritance to which he has succeeded, so that he may boast, with perfect truth, that he is the citizen of no mean city.

FLOREAT SCHOLA PAULINA.

ADDENDUM

The *Dictionary of National Biography*, on the authority of his obituary notice in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1847, states that Sir David Pollock, Judge of the Supreme Court of Bombay, a brother of Sir Jonathan Frederick Pollock, was educated at St. Paul's. It appears, therefore, in spite of the omission of his name from the admittedly incomplete registers of the names of Dr. Roberts' pupils, that we may claim as an Old Pauline another member of that family of which Lord Chancellor Westbury pungently observed that it acquired judicial office "per stirpes" and not "per capita."

CORRIGENDA

P. 54, two lines from the bottom. *For* "Magdalen" *read* "Magdalene."

P. 106, l. 9. *For* "William" *read* "Roger."

P. 142, five lines from the bottom. *For* "Felstead" *read* "Felsted."

P. 259, l. 14. *For* "Sacheverel" *read* "Sacheverell."

P. 285, one line from the bottom. *For* "Matthew" *read* "Matthias."

P. 361, five lines from the bottom. *For* "Somes" *read* "Soames."

P. 374, l. 6. *For* "Elden" *read* "Eldon."

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